1:Evans-Pritchard E-4 (no date) 1948
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631 segments of an organization. It seems that in pre-
[721] Turkish times there was a tendency for contiguous
631 settlements to combine for war against other settle-
619 ments or under the leadership of an outstanding
personality, but such combinations were not
permanent, or even consistent enough for us to
[177 speak of them as political groups. The Turkish
•648] Administration tried to give greater consistency to
them so that they could be used as administrative
units, and the Anglo-Egyptian Government has
done the same and calls them divisions and appoints
a chief for each. Previously they appear to have
been little more than districts or localities, and the
only chiefs between the king and the chiefs of
settlements were those of Ger, northern Shilluk-
land, and Luak, southern Shillukland, whose
functions had, as we shall see, a ritual rather than
an administrative character, and those of Muomo
and Tonga, the settlements which are the northern
and southern marches of Shillukland, whose
functions were also partly ritual. In Shilluk
speech Muomo and Tonga correspond exactly,
Professor Westermann tells us, to the expression of
631 the ancient Hebrews: from Dan unto Beersheba.[1]

[1] Diedrich Westermann, *The Shilluk People. Their Language and Folklore* (1912), p. xx.

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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two, or even three or four, branches of the royal house from which the kings were elected in turn. From the genealogy it may be seen that sons of kings have succeeded their fathers but that this is by no means the rule; the succession may pass to brothers, ortho-cousins, or paternal nephew, and in one case a paternal uncle succeeded his brother's son. What is clear is that all recent kings have been descendants of the brothers Akwot (19) and Nyadok (20). Each of these kings had two sons who eventually came to the throne, and all their direct descendants are eligible from the Shilluk point of view. But we could not discover any rule debarring from which of these houses the royal candidates for the throne should be chosen. It is certain that each house would press its claim. There seem very good reasons why the sons of the twenty-seventh and the twenty-eighth kings have not come to the throne, and apart from Government influence it may be that their lines will have less claim in the future, since Kur, the twenty-seventh king, did not meet his death as a Shilluk king should but was deposed by the Government and died in confinement in the northern Sudan. Fadiet, the twenty-eighth king, succeeded with the approval of the Government, but many of the Shilluk did not recognize him as legitimate during the lifetime of Kur. It must have been quite impossible to carry out the ritual enthronement in the correct spirit while a former king was still living; certainly a son of Kur could not have come to the throne during the lifetime of his father, while as to Fadiet, he was neither popular nor efficient.

Tribute is paid to the king, but his sovereignty is largely exercised through the high-chiefs (*jang dwong*) of the great provinces into which the realm is divided. The selection of these officers—who tend to be hereditary—is in the hands of the king, but the approval of the community is sought, and it is probably these chiefs who form the "great council" mentioned by Hofmayr, which is summoned by the king in exceptional cases.[1] Hofmayr also states that the king's messengers are usually relatives of the king. The high-chiefs of the provinces accompany the king on his journeys.

The greatest respect and honour is shown to the king. In the old days he was not allowed to go to battle, and even now he keeps up considerable state and has much authority. Even a royal son addresses the king with face somewhat averted, the left hand hiding the mouth and lower part of the face; this he does sitting at ease,

[1] Op. cit., 151-2.

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 F323 Shilluk F323

by side with Arabs and other Mohammedan people, should have preserved their own heathen form of worship, and should, with a few exceptions, look darker rather with contempt on the religion of the foreigners. Partly this is explained by their conservativeness and self-confidence, and partly by the fact that their intercourse with Mohammedans was almost exclusively hostile. Whether now that the Pax Britannica makes slave-hunting and raiding impossible and new ideas slowly penetrate the country, Islam will make greater progress, the future will show. A gradual peaceful conquest of the country by Islam is not improbable, because civilization, as it comes to these people, wears an outspoken Islamic stamp.

On Christian Mission work among the Shilluk vide the end of Introduction.

V. POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS.

§ 23. Government of the King.

The Shilluk are the only people of the Sudan who have a Kingdom[1]. The king resides at Fashoda. His residence consists in a large number of huts for himself, his numerous wives and other members of his family and for guests. He possesses large herds of cattle, goats and sheep. When a person of some rank pays him a visit, the king presents him with an ox. — The royal robe consists in a leopard skin. They have also a coronation robe of leopard skin and ostrich feathers, which has been handed down from many generations. The present king has a gorgeous red robe presented by the governor, which he wears on occasions when he meets the higher English officials.

§ 24. Election.

The kingdom of the Shilluks is hereditary in so far as the king must always be a member of the royal family, that is, of the descendants of Dyikang, and only a person whose father has been a king, may be elected. There are three houses of the royal family, and the king is elected from each of these royal houses in turn. If there are several brothers in the branch whose turn it is to have the kingship, upon the death of the king one of these brothers will be elected. But in case there is no vacancy during the life of these three brothers, then the sons of the eldest will be in line for the throne.

Fadyet is the present king. He is of the house of Kwat Kor. When he dies, the kingship will pass to the house of *Tij*; at the death of the king from the house of *Tij* it will be the turn of the house of *Fadyet*. Thence it will return to the house of Kwat Kor, but not to a son of *Fadyet*, but to one of the king's brothers. When it has gone around the circle again, it will be the turn of a son of *Fadyet*. There seem to be two branches of each house, so that when a king dies, it will be the turn of his eldest son to become king, after five kings have reigned and died. There have been other royal houses, but they have lost their

1) "King" is in Shilluk *rēj* or *reŋ*; in other literature the word "Sultan" is given as the Shilluk name for king. By Europeans the king is commonly called *nek*, which is a contraction of the Arab *melik*.

3-Westermann E-6 (2910) 1912 F223 Shilluk F223

On the coming of Nyikang into the Shilluk country would in fact mean an immigration of light-coloured people into a region already inhabited by black tribes. — Probably the word *Obáng*, which, as is shown on page 111, is connected with *Nyikang*, and means a descendant of *Obáng*, also designates only an unduly numbers of the royal family, and not the common Shilluks; on the Sobat the word is rarely used, but it is well known as Funkwin, the seat of the royal court.

There live among the Shilluks a number of "Bohimer", called by them *Nyi-*, the word is derived from Dongola, and designates the Bohimer (and perhaps other tribes) living west of the White Nile. These Bohimer came into the country as captives, during wars, others came as fugitives. They are exceptionally numerous in Fašoa, a sub-district of Nyagir; they are known here as good cultivators of corn. Originally these were driven into this district by the Khalifa's people, and inhabit five villages, consisting of ring dwellings; they are subject to the Shilluk chief of the district. — The Bohimer play a certain rôle in the election of the king, vide page 111 f. They bear the title *Nyikwai*.

The Shilluks do not, as a rule, agree well with the Dinkas, their northern and eastern neighbours. The Dinka possesses more cattle than the Shilluk, and therefore looks down on the latter rather contemptuously. The Dinkas are said to have formerly lived on the right bank of the lower Sobat, but were driven inland by the Shilluks. Incited by Arabs, the Shilluks in former times frequently raided the Dinkas and carried away their women and cattle. They however live peaceably now, thanks to the fear they have of the new Government. The two tribes now and then pay mutual visits and also intermarry occasionally; a certain amount of trade is carried on between them.

There are a few Baïka Beggara in the neighbourhood of Kaka, but these people appear to visit the district only after the harvest to purchase corn from the Shilluks, which they are too indolent to cultivate themselves. The Kenana Arabs occupy the walls at Amara. They are disliked by the Shilluks on account of their dirty habits. Another branch of the Kenana Arabs inhabit a village close to Fadiang (*Fo ginek* "village of cattle").

VII. MIGRATIONS AND HISTORY.

South of the Shilluk country there live, under different names, a number of tribes who likewise speak the Shilluk language (vide page 308), and who, in their physique, show strong resemblance to, and in some cases identity with, the Shilluks of the White Nile. It must be supposed that originally all these tribes lived in one place. Some of them still have traditions pointing to a common

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fire and sword.

In 1820 the Turkish-Egyptian troops under Ismail Pasha occupied the country and defeated the Funj in the battle of Abu Haraz.

Apart from these expeditions towards the Blue Nile the Shilluk of the White Nile have frequently waged wars against the Dinka and Nuer, of which their traditions tell. More recently they suffered from severe raiding made by Arabs and Turks, undertaken for the purpose of stealing cattle and slaves.

CONQUEST OF THE SHILLUK COUNTRY

a) By the Turks. As early as 1820—1830 the Sudan was conquered by the Turko-Egyptian government, and was considered as part of the Turkish empire; but this hardly affected the political situation of the Shilluk kingdom, the Turkish rule not being strong enough to make its influence felt, except in levying an immense heavy taxes in cattle and corn, and in making slave raids.

b) By the Baggara Arabs. In 1861 the Baggara Arabs under Faki Mohammed Khor invaded the Shilluk country and plundered it thoroughly. Mohammed Khor married the daughter of the Shilluk king and practically made himself the ruler of the country. —[1] In the same year Sir Samuel Baker started for his expedition into the Sudan. His description of the Sudan at this period gives a melancholy picture of the results of Egyptian rule. He describes the provinces as greatly ruined and only governed by military force, the revenue unequal to the expenditure, and the country paralysed by excessive taxation; the existing conditions rendered them overcome as a problem to the Pasha that their annexation could only be accounted for by the fruits of the slave trade. — On this expedition Baker founded the military post of Tewfikia on the right bank of the White Nile, near the mouth of the Sobat, this place has since then continuously been continued as a station for troops.

AND BAKER'S EXPEDITION

On Ismail Pasha coming to the throne in 1863 orders for the suppression of the slave trade were issued and on Baker's return journey in 1865, he found an Egyptian camp of over 200 established at Kodok in the Shilluk country for the purpose. — Khartum was at that time the headquarters of the slave traders, who carried on their traffic under the cloak of legitimate commerce. The traders organised armies of brigands, and formed claims of stations, of about 300 men each, throughout their districts, which they had leased from Government. Raids were made on native tribes, who were obliged to submit, by the country, or ally themselves to the slave hunters, to be used against other tribes.

CONQUEST OF THE SHILLUK COUNTRY

In 1871 the Shilluk country was finally conquered by the Egyptians and became a province of the Turkish empire.

In 1874 Charles Gordon was appointed Governor of the Equatorial Provinces, and at the close of the same year he could report to the Egyptian Government that the slave trade on the White Nile had received a deadly blow.

[1] The following data refer with few exceptions here taken from The a. S. S.

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During Gordon's absence in 1875, the Shilluk tribe in the neighbourhood of Kodok rose in rebellion against the oppression of the Government, and, had it not been for the presence of Gessi, an Italian adventurer who had joined Gordon's staff, Kodok would probably have been lost.

REBELLION OF THE SHILLUKS 1875

A great source of disturbance in the Sudan was the appearance of the Mahdi Mohammed Ahmed, a native of Dongola; he began his career in 1881. The Shilluk and their country were in many ways affected by these troubles; not only did they with their own troops fight against the Mahdi, but their young men also formed a considerable and valuable part of the Anglo-Egyptian army.

DISTURBANCES OF THE MAHDI, 1881-85

The Mahdists extended their invasions far into the Sudan and took possession also of the Shilluk country. But in 1892 the Shilluks rebelled against their oppressors: an Emir of the Mahdi Zaki, Tumal, was sent thither to quell the rebellion, with a force chiefly consisting of the Gellabat men who had fought bravely against the Abyssinians in 1889. During the whole of 1892 the war against the Shilluks continued, the Mahdists ("Dervishes") on more than one occasion being heavily defeated, and the communications between Omdurman, the residence of the Khalifa, and Bahr el Jebel being completely interrupted. Two gunboats had stuck in the mud in the winter of 1888, and had been taken by the Shilluks; desperate efforts were now made by the Dervishes to effect their recapture. In August, 1892, the Nuers were used as allies by the Dervishes, and succeeded in killing the king of the Shilluks. Soon afterwards, however, the Nuers turned against their allies and expelled them from the country north of Kodok, whilst the Shilluks inflicted a severe defeat on their enemy near Kodok, in December, 1892, and again in January, 1893. The war was waged with relentless cruelty till 1894, when the Dervishes finally crushed the Shilluks and captured their king's wife. After that the Dervishes merely kept a small force garrisoning conquest at Kodok.

On the 10th September, 1898, Kitchener left Omdurman for the south with five gunboats and troops, and having destroyed a Dervish force of 700 at Kosk, arrived at Kodok on the 19th, where he found the French expedition under Marchand. He left a garrison at Fort Sofeir. This place has been relinquished since as a military post.

On 19th January, 1899, an agreement was signed between Great Britain and Egypt, defining the status of the Sudan, and laying down broad principles for its government.

In the same year, on the 24th November, the power of the Khalifa Abdullahi, who on the overthrow of Mohammed Ahmed, was mainly dethroned by the Anglo-Egyptian army at Um Debreikat; the Khalifa himself was killed. This victory finally stamped out the Dervish dominion in the Sudan.

FINAL DEFEAT OF THE KHALIFA 1899

3.Westermann E-5 (1910) 1911 F213 Shilluk F213

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EXPEDITION OF THE ABYSSINIANS AGAINST THE SHILLUKS

In summer 1898 an Abyssinian force came down the Sobat. It arrived at Fodoa towards the end of June, but, owing to the death of the leader, the expedition returned almost immediately, without having a hostile encounter with the Shilluks.

LATEST EVENTS

In April, 1903, the Shilluk king Kur Wat Dyokok (Fadjak) was deposed for malpractices; his successor, Fadjok Wat Kwai Kur (Kir), is now limited in power, and is subservient in most things to the Governor of the Upper Nile Province, a British officer resident in the town of Kodok (Fashoda). Gradually the whole Shilluk population was now brought under the more direct control of the Anglo-Egyptian Government. The election of their king is now subject to the approval of the Governor General.

CHRISTIAN MISSIONS IN THE EGYPTIAN SUDAN.

BY CHARLES R. WATSON, PHILADELPHIA.

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The "American Mission" of the United Presbyterian Church of North America and the Church Missionary Society of Great Britain are the two missionary agencies representing Protestant Christendom in the Egyptian Sudan. Both Missions began their work after the opening up of the Sudan through Kitchener's victory over the Mahdi forces at Omdurman: the Church Missionary Society in 1899 and the American Mission in 1900. In Northern Sudan they labor alongside of each other in a spirit of amity and cooperation, each developing such missionary work as the other may not have taken up at such stations occupied by both societies.

The stations occupied by the American Mission in Northern Sudan and the forces and work maintained at those stations in 1911 were as follows:

Khartum: An ordained American missionary; a native ordained native pastor; an organized native congregation with 142 members; a boys' school with an enrolment of 210; regular congregational services; a clinic; a boys' orphanage at home.

Khartum North: Two unmarried American women missionaries and an American doctor; a girls' boarding school with an enrolment of 133 in both day and boarding departments; a boys' day school with an enrolment of 143; a clinic; regular preaching services.

Omdurman: An ordained American missionary; a boys' school with an enrolment of 80; regular preaching services.

Wad Medani: A colporteur evangelist with regular preaching services; a mixed school with an enrolment of 8 boys and 12 girls.

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777 extended from Alexandria to Assuan and whose Evangelical Church members and adherents were going into the Sudan in considerable numbers as Government employés, should extend its work to the Sudan. Accordingly, the Rev. J. H. Gillan, D. D., and Dr. H. T. McLaughlin were commissioned as the first missionaries of the proposed Mission. They reached Omdurman in December, 1900. For some time, a rigorous prohibition of the Government forbade all missionary work among the Moslems of Northern Sudan. The work was therefore limited to the Evangelical and other Christian communities. In March, 1901, work was begun at Dolaib Hill, among the black tribes of Southern Sudan. In establishing this mission station practically everything remained to be done. Houses needed to be provided; an acre of land, later of burnt brick, and later still of concrete. Provisions needed to be secured and gardening became a necessity, for no vegetables or fruit were to be had unless grown by the missionaries themselves. Problems of health became acute, as life and work were thus undertaken in a region and a climate where hitherto no white community had established itself. To these difficulties were added those of safety from wild animals, and especially innumerable snakes which infested the place until the land was somewhat cleared by agriculture. There were also the problems of establishing just and sympathetic relations with the people of the neighborhood. The early attitude of suspicion which prevailed is well illustrated by the following incident narrated by the Rev. Dr. Gillan in his interesting book "The Egyptian Sudan."

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"We had been there for some months, and thought we had gained much confidence from the people. We had a friend visiting us and this chief, Arbo, had called to honor of our guest. After some conversation, our friend said to Arbo: 'Now you have a good and righteous Government; it will protect you, and will help you; it will fight your battles if need be. And these missionaries will teach your children, will help you to cultivate your lands, will find a market for your grain, and they have The Book and will teach you of God; you ought now to be quiet and peaceable. Till your lands and care for your lands.'

"After a good deal of deliberation and smoking, Arbo laid his pipe aside and replied: 'Master, you speak well. We had here the Turks (the old Egyptian Government) and they said, "Be submissive to us; we will protect you, we will fight your battles from you, we will teach you of God." But they took our cattle, they destroyed our villages, and carried our women and children into slavery, and they are gone. Then came the Ansar (the Mahdists) and they said: "Come with us, we have a great army; we will care for you and protect you; we will give you plenty to eat, and a good place to live; we have The Book and we will teach you of God". But they slew our men, and right here

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where these missionaries built their homes many of our men fell fighting for their women and children. They took away our cattle, destroyed our villages, carried off our women and children, and they too have gone. Now you come and say: "We will care for you; we will protect you; we will fight for you; we have *The Book*; we will teach you." Master, you speak well; but we will see.'

"This brief, pathetic story, a review of their whole history, reveals everything."

The supreme problem in the new work was, however, the language, for the Shilluk language had never been reduced to writing, neither was any grammar of the language in existence. The missionaries sent to the Southern Sudan mission field laboured successively to reduce the language to writing and to work out its grammar and vocabulary, but they were greatly hampered both by the burden of other work and by an entire lack of acquaintance with cognate African languages. However, the Rev. Ralph Curnow and the Rev. Elliott McCreary especially were able to bring together considerable material bearing upon the structure and vocabulary of the Shilluk language, but it remained for the other with which this book is connected to set forth with adequate definiteness the grammatical structure of the language. These efforts became possible through a generous grant made by the Trustees of the Arthington Fund, to the Board of Foreign Missions of the United Presbyterian Church of North America under whose care the American Mission in the Sudan is operated.

Among the successes of missionary work during the brief period of about a decade which has elapsed since this work was begun, may be enumerated the following important achievements: the ministry to the religious life of many Christians, Egyptians, Levantines and Europeans who entered the Sudan in Government service; the establishment of promising centers and of both educational and medical missionary institutions whose Christian influence is steady and far-reaching; the solution of problems of health, of residence and of agricultural possibilities; the solid foundations laid for the mastery of the language; the winning of the sympathy of the people; and, finally, a hopeful beginning in the winning of some to Christianity and in the awakening of a spirit of inquiry in a much larger circle.

The most serious problem is the rapid advance of Islam into pagan territory through the aggressive efforts of Moslem traders and the pervasive influence of military posts at which are stationed Moslem troops.

his lineage in the settlement and, if he is a representative of the dyal lineage, he will have a special status as representing the owners of the land and the rage will crown his candidacy. The headman has charge of affairs within his unit and represents his people in external affairs.

The Gol Leader

The owner of a homestead is responsible for the communal members of his gol, but has no special status. The correspondence between temporal divisions and their representatives may be charted as below. (After Pumphrey, S.N.R. 1941, Vol.XXIV, p.7.)

TERRITORIAL DIVISIONS	REPRESENTATIVE AUTHORITY
Shilluk Tribe	The Reth
Lueh & Ghor Provinces	Chiefs of Gol Nyikang & Gol Dwong
Northern & Southern Sections	Chiefs of Nimni & Tokyo
..... Division (Luak)	Division or Court Chief .....
Settlement (Yuath)	Nyim
Hamlet (Dwe)	Jal wang pur
Homestead (Gol)	Jal Gol

(Dotted line indicates permanent administrative divisions with chiefs made by the Anglo-Egyptian Government. Previously, there were no permanent intermediate territorial units between the two provinces and northern and the settlements.)

THE RETH'S POLITICAL POWER

The actual degree of power possessed by the reth has been a matter for dispute among anthropologists. The majority of the early writers stressed his power and authority. Seligman writes, "The Shilluk king is absolute head temporal and spiritual..."(1) Westermann and others have used Seligman's view. Evans-Pritchard and other recent writers suggest that in administrative matters, the reth is not so powerful.

The chiefs of settlements and the hamlet heads are confirmed in their offices by the reth. In no case, however, does he nominate them, for they are elected by the people of the units they represent on either of these positions as heads of lineages dominant in the area. Likewise the chiefs of the provinces and of the northern and southern sections are traditionally determined and persons who are eligible cannot be passed over for reasons of political expediency. On the other hand, the chiefs owe their reth certain duties and are responsible to him for the state of their districts and their inhabitants, for defence of the settlement area and for the collection of tribute. If there is a choice of candidates for any position, each having the necessary ability and lineage qualifications, it is conceivable that the reth might use his influence to have as chief the man most amenable to his wishes; otherwise he appears to have little chance of exerting influence on the choice of his local officials.

(1) Seligman, *Pagan Tribes of the Nilotic Sudan*, 1932, p. 9.

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OBSERVATIONS ON THE SHILLUK OF THE UPPER NILE

CUSTOMARY LAW: MARRIAGE AND THE VIOLATION OF RIGHTS IN WOMEN

P. P. HOWELL.

IN a previous article on the Shilluk[1] I discussed the laws of homicide and the legal and ritual functions of the *reth* or King. An interpretation of Shilluk law and authority is one may however, apart from early contacts with the peoples of the northern Sudan, they have been subjected to external influences and some kind of Government since the early years of the last century. These contacts began with curiosity and not altogether happy encounters with the Turco-Egyptian Government which were followed by the establishment of a provincial headquarters at Kodok in 1861 under the authority of a *mudir*; later came the turbulent and dismal years of the Mahdia and finally the occupation by the present Government in 1898. It would be idle to suppose that the political system of the Shilluk has remained unaffected by these influences. The Shilluk are by reputation an exceptionally conservative people and certainly the effects of their relations with outsiders are, to the casual observer, hard to detect. Profound changes have taken place none the less, especially in the sphere of customary law, and these changes are undoubtedly gathering momentum.

By "law" I mean simply those customary rules governing human relationships from which there has developed a body of rules classed as "customary law" (sometimes "native law and custom") administered under the Chiefs' Court Ordinances of 1931, and more or less consistently applied in the tribunals established by the Government.

These courts have now largely taken the place of the ultimate sanction for conformity with accepted rules of conduct, for the fulfilment of recognized duties and the composition of all disputes, which was formerly the resort to force by the injured party and his supporters. It is my opinion that the ordered indigenous administrative system of the Shilluk, so enthusiastically described by some writers, and the organized repressive measures alleged to have been undertaken by the *reth*, are not only exaggerated, but also, in part, derive from contacts with alien governments. At any rate it is more than probable that no system existed among the Shilluk whereby all wrongs were righted by the direct intervention of the *reth* and his representatives.

We are not here concerned with political systems, but with the nature of customary law as it is applied today. This law is at basis derived from customary procedures in which arbitration and compromise prevailed; but in recent years it has acquired a consistency, and in some cases a rigidity, probably unknown in the past. A body of case law has arisen from precedents made in the courts, and although some laws may derive from the direct intervention of the Administration, others are part of a purely spontaneous process. It is also noticeable that many claims now upheld

[1] "Observations on the Shilluk of the Upper Nile: The laws of homicide and the legal functions of the *reth*." *Africa*, xviii. 1, 1951. I am again indebted to the Sudan Government for permission to quote from official reports and to Mr. W. P. G. Thomson and Mr. J. L. Baker for comments and suggestions.

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in the courts are of a kind which in the past were more matters of convention and usage and could not be defined as law even in the most extended definition of that term. The tendency is for the more intimate personal relationships to be governed by legal processes. This is a feature of the Nilotic world under the influence of modern administration which, while present among the Shilluk, is even more marked among Nuer and Dinka. There is a danger in this, because intervention in almost every sphere of human activity may tend to inhibit the normal readjustments which might otherwise naturally emerge to meet changing conditions. It is therefore all the more necessary to record something of present practice for comparison in later years.

The vast majority of cases which appear before the courts concern kinship obligations, marital relationships and the violation of rights in women. This article is therefore largely a description of the normal processes of marriage: the payment and distribution of bridewealth, divorce, and the infringement of legal rights in women. It is also in the nature of a commentary on previous articles published by Mr. M. E. C. Pumphrey and myself[1] on the subject of kinship and social organization among the Shilluk. From time to time reference is made to Nuer and Dinka institutions by way of comparison.[2] A few examples of actual disputes as heard and recorded in the Shilluk Courts are given in the text.

Shilluk Social Structure

Shilluk society is divided into 'provinces', 'divisions' (*kwɔ̈t*), and 'settlements' (*pull*). These are territorial and political segments, but it is really only the settlement which has any permanent political significance. Each settlement has a communal territory, the boundaries of which run at approximately right angles to the river. Such territory includes a section of the highland ridge which runs roughly parallel to the Nile and on which the permanent dwelling-houses and cattle-byres are built; a section of the river front (*nie*) which provides grass grazing for the cattle when the river drops, and finally a more extensive section of the hinterland (*wɔ̈t*) which is subjected to varying degrees of rain-flooding during the wet season but is dry and waterless for the rest of the year. Each type of land is essential for pastoral and agricultural activities according to the season, and the territorial organization of Shilluk country could not be arranged otherwise.

A settlement is an economic, political, and social unit, but is not a kinship unit since it contains representative lineages of several of the many Shilluk clans. Within the settlement there is, however, a tendency—not always effective for purely topographical reasons—for each lineage to occupy its own 'village'. Each village (*pur*) is made up of a number of 'hamlets' (also *pur*: pl. *ayar*) which comprise several domestic units (*gol*), each such unit consisting of a group of dwelling-huts (*ar*) occupied by a man, his wives, and children. The village is therefore also a kinship unit and, as a general rule, the closer the territorial proximity, the closer the kinship relationship. Clans (described by giving the name of the founder with the suffix *kwɔ*, meaning 'descendants of') are patrilineal descent groups which are theoretically exogamous, though separation in space, coupled with considerable distance of relationship within the kinship structure, may allow modifications of this rule. The

[1] *Sudan Notes and Records*, vol. xxiv, 1941.

[2] The reader may consult the works of Professor Evans-Pritchard on the Nuer. The Dinka are less well documented.

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Shilluk were perhaps more prosperous cattle-owners and the rate of bridewealth were higher.

There is in fact no evidence that the number of cattle paid as bridewealth was ever higher than ten, though it may have been so in the era preceding Turkish times. During the *Mahdia*, and for some time after, when the Shilluk had even less cattle than they have now, the transfer of more than two head as bridewealth seems to have been exceptional. But in the more prosperous period which followed, when cattle increased, there was an aftermath of claims dating back to marriages contracted at an earlier date. Some of these claims were upheld in the Courts established by the Government, a procedure which no doubt fostered the belief that the rate of ten head of cattle was unalterable and encouraged the enforcement of obligations which would not otherwise have been honoured. Latterly, the Administration has made attempts to reduce the bridewealth rate. At times in recent years, presumably after epidemics which have sometimes nearly halved the cattle population in the course of twelve months, ten head of cattle as bridewealth has been excessive, with varying results all naturally considered undesirable by the Administration. First, there has been a marked increase in litigation over bridewealth claims. Young men, having started the processes of marriage and made some initial payments of cattle, have then descended with their brides and refused to honour further obligations. Second, since suitable husbands with sufficient cattle are not to be found, Shilluk girls, unable to marry the men of their choice, in an age when some degree of emancipation has been the result of alien government, tend to drift into the towns as concubines and prostitutes.[1] This process has an equally undesirable corollary. The young men, unable to marry, are more inclined to illicit love affairs, with the result that adultery has increased with a consequent rise in litigation. Finally, the Shilluk have taken to marrying their daughters to Nuer or Dinka who are easily able to find the ten head of cattle required. This process, though not necessarily undesirable in itself, has the effect of aggravating the position, because Shilluk men find it even harder to acquire wives. Without this absorption of Shilluk girls by intermarriage with other tribes or by the process of detribalization, their guardians might be prepared to accept smaller numbers of cattle as they undoubtedly did during the impoverished times of the *Mahdia*.

There have been many discussions, recorded in Government files, of the necessity for reducing the amount of bridewealth and it is clear that Shilluk chiefs and men have themselves been acutely aware of the need to do so. Yet, despite resolutions made at Shilluk Council meetings, no alteration has in fact occurred.

Divorce and the Dissolution of Marriage

Divorce laws among the Shilluk are, in principle though not in detail, similar to those current among other Nilotic tribes. We must here distinguish between what may be called 'active divorce', when both parties are still living, and 'dissolution of legal union', which sometimes follows the death of the wife.

[1] Encouraged perhaps by the removal of customary deterrents. The 1926 meeting of the Shilluk Council (1931) records: 'Chiefs are warned that the following customary "punishments" for a woman are forbidden and will be followed by imprisonment:
(1) Tying her up in a net and half drowning her.
(2) Tying her up outside at night for the mosquitos to bite her.
(3) Smoking her in a closed up house.
(4) Sticking thorns up her private parts.
The Government does not object to the lawful guardian of a woman or a girl giving her a reasonable correction with the palm of his hand, or a light whip, but beating with a stick is absolutely

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The all-powerful being who exists in the minds of the Shilluk as a remote and ancestral deity is called *Juok*. The principal medium through whom *Juok* is approached is Nyikang, but the distinction between them is not well defined. 'Nyikang is *Juok* but *Juok* is not Nyikang'[1] for Nyikang is also a mythological figure who takes his place in Shilluk history as the culture-hero of the Shilluk people,[2] the founder of the royal house; as the soul of Nyikang is reincarnate in every Shilluk *reth*, he lives entire both in the past and in the present. Nyikang is the *reth*: the *reth* is Nyikang. This paradox of the unity yet separation of the three is not easy to define and the Shilluk would find it difficult to explain. *Juok*, Nyikang, and the ruling *reth* represent the line through which divinity runs, a conception which is similar to the ancestor cult, but the cult is associated with the tribe as a whole rather than with the royal clan (*dwonit*) or any other more restricted kinship group. The *reth* is himself the medium through whom both Nyikang and, more vaguely, *Juok* are approached and is the human intercessor for mankind with God. Vicariously by ritual acts, involuntarily by reason of his very existence, the *reth* affects the fortunes and fertility of the tribe and controls the natural phenomena which react upon crops and cattle. The *reth* is therefore the central figure of tribal religion as well as the symbol of political unity. He is responsible for the welfare and fortunes of the people both spiritually, as the present manifestation of Nyikang, and temporally, but less closely, as the leading tribal authority. 'The Shilluk would not seriously dispute the *reth*'s divine attributes (unless a follower of some alien religion),' though some might resist his more mundane powers.[3]

The Problem of Authority

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The nature of the *reth*'s authority is naturally of considerable importance to an analysis of Shilluk law and legal procedures, especially in the past, and an answer must be attempted even though the evidence is scanty and it is now probably too late to obtain more. The first factor of great importance in this discussion is historical, for the Shilluk have not been entirely free of alien government since 1861 and external influences prior to that date, so that, whatever the political authority of the *reth* may have been previously, some there is has been influenced by external forces. Moreover, not only the present Government, but also the Turco-Egyptian administration, appear to have attempted a rudimentary form of what in Africa has been called 'Indirect Rule', through the agency of the *reth*. However unrecommended this may have been, it must have increased the powers of the *reth* to some extent and given to him an authority which in the past he may well not have possessed. This argument is not, I think, affected by the fact that so many *reths* suffered sudden death or exile at the hands of their own people or the Turks; but it is significant that during the Turkish régime the position of the *reth* was nearly always insecure. He was at any time liable to be ambushed and killed by an ambitious spirit[4] who hoped to gain the support of the Shilluk people and supplant him as reigning monarch. This potential opposition

[1] Howell and Thomson, *op. cit.*, p. 8.

[2] The meaning of Nyikang in Shilluk society will not be discussed here in detail. There is considerable literature on the subject which is listed in the Bibliography.

[3] The Dinka *reth* of Dang has sometimes found favour with certain Shilluk individuals and as such is subversive of the status of the *reth*, though it has never provided a serious threat.

[4] Howell and Thomson, *op. cit.*, p. 9.

[5] Son of a *reth* who has reigned and therefore a claimant to the throne. See Howell and Thomson, *op. cit.*, p. 11, and Evans-Pritchard, *op. cit.*, pp. 13-14.

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is in accordance with Shilluk tradition, but the kings prior to this period appear to have had a stability of tenure unknown during the latter half of the nineteenth century.[1] The opposition sprang from resentment of an excessive and often oppressive use of the powers accorded to him and also from a reaction to the interference of an alien government, for many of the *reths* of that period were no more than puppets.

reth Kwathker, who was the *reth* of the Shilluk at the time of the first arrival of the Turkish "Mudir" at Fashoda, was deposed and replaced by a nominee called Ajang Nyidhok, who was never accepted by the southern Shilluk.[2] A civil war between the north and the Government on one side supporting Ajang, and the south supporting Kwathker followed. The south was defeated, and Kwathker died in chains at Fashoda.[3] Ajang was himself deposed shortly afterwards and the Turks attempted to administer the Shilluk without a *reth* at all. This policy was, however, entirely unsuccessful and, after a clash which resulted in a massacre of Government troops at Kolo in 1871, Kwathker, son of Kwathker, was installed as *reth*. A few years later Kwathker joined the Turkish troops in their attack on the forces of the Mahdi at Jebel Qadir. The Turkish and Shilluk forces were annihilated and Kwathker was killed. Subsequently, after a period of interregnum, Tur, son of *reth* Akwe, who had joined the Mahdi and received his support, installed himself at Fashoda. The support of the Mahdia, however, did not continue under the régime of the Khalifa Abdullahi, and Tur was finally captured and beheaded by the Emir Zaki Tamal near Tonga. His successor was Kur, another son of *reth* Nyidhok, who was a Mahdist puppet and called by them Abdel Fadil. During Kur's absence in Omdurman, Abd, a son of Kwathker, supported by the southern Shilluk attempted a *coup d'état*, but was unsuccessful owing to the intervention of the southern Shilluk. The present Government arrived in 1898, and Kur remained in power until 1903, when he was deposed for "unjust and oppressive" actions against his people. He was replaced by Fadiet, a Government nominee, who died in 1911. After a show of opposition by the southern Shilluk, who supported Cori, son of *reth* Ajang, Fadiet, son of Tur, was finally installed at Fashoda in 1917 and ruled until 1945. He was followed in quick succession by Anei wad Kur, who died less than two years after his installation, and Dak wad Fadiet, who died in 1951. The present *reth*-elect, not yet formally installed, is Kur wad Fadiet.

Throughout this period, administration was carried out through the agency of the *reth*, although there were frequent attempts to increase the authority of local chiefs, formed into Chiefs' Courts. It may be noted also that there were occasional attempts to oust Fadiet in favour of rivals, the most notable of whom was Nyikwaka wad Kur, who was exiled in 1910. These attempts were, however, severely suppressed by the Government and it is impossible even to guess whether they would have been successful, if the reigning *reth* had not enjoyed an artificial stability of tenure provided by the Government. During this period the policy of the Government was to establish tribunals throughout the country from which final appeal lay to the *reth* himself. The extent of the jurisdiction of these tribunals has varied considerably from time to time, the boundaries being altered, for administrative convenience, to approximate to the

[1] See Hofmayr, *Die Schilluk*, 1911, and also Westermann, *The Shilluk People*, 1912, on traditions about the early *reths*.

[2] Howell and Thomson, *op. cit.*, p. 71, i.e. those living in Lwak. The division into Lwak and Gwit has not only ritual but political significance.

[3] Kodok—Turkish Province Headquarters and called by them Fashoda. Fashoda is in fact the capital of the *reth* and lies some fifteen miles south of Kodok.

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traditional divisions of Shilluk country. From the early years of administration, with frequent minor adjustments, until 1929 these divisions were eleven in number,[1] but they were recently amalgamated to form five.

These historical factors have been summarized here to show how difficult it is to formulate definite conclusions on the reth's political authority. According to tradition and to what the Shilluk will often themselves say, he has absolute powers of intervention to suppress public disturbances, to give judgement in certain disputes and, moreover, to execute those judgements. In fact, in recent years, and possibly at times during the latter half of the nineteenth century, this theoretical authority has had the backing of an alien government and may for this reason have been exaggerated beyond what was actually enforceable in earlier times. There is, therefore, throughout Shilluk history in the last hundred years a divergence of theory and fact, and one does not know how much of the theory has been created by external influences. It will be realized that this problem is also of some importance in a theoretical study of primitive legal systems, for we wish to know whether the laws were, in fact, enforceable, whether the Shilluk monarchy, apart from external influences, represents 'politically organized society', and whether certain laws were enforced and legal sanctions applied in such a manner as to justify the use of the term 'public law'.

There is little evidence of legal procedure during the Turkish régime and none during the Mahdia. Schweinfurth writing, in 1868, a lucid account of a Shilluk dispute heard by the Turkish 'Mudir' or Governor at Fashoda, says: 'He (the Mudir) was continually being called upon to adjust the disputes of natives, who appealed to his judgement even in their most private concerns. . . .' After describing the unsuccessful plea of a Shilluk girl for permission to marry her lover who had not enough cattle to pay the bride-wealth, he adds, 'This was not a very comforting decision, but it showed me plainly how that it was ever his rule to recognize the customs of the country'.[2] Schweinfurth also gives a vivid picture of the Shilluk king at this period.

> In the Mudir's verandah I also made acquaintance with a Shilluk chief, who had entirely surrendered to the Egyptian Government, and was now, as the Governor expressed himself, 'coming to his senses.' There was no external indication whatever of his rank. . . . He retained now but a shadow of his former power; his better days were gone, days in which, attended by a council of ancestral men, he had swayed the sceptre of patriarchal dignity. Of all the regal state which occupy the entire diaries of the Nile, the Shillooks used to uphold the most perfectly regulated government. . . . But now this condition is all changed, and everything has disappeared which gave this independent and primitive people their most striking characteristics.[3]

There are, of course, other references to the indigenous administration of the Shilluk based on the division of the country into provinces and settlements with a representative of the reth in charge of each, and the reth himself as the ultimate authority. Many writers therefore assume that there existed a highly organized system; more highly organized than the evidence warrants. It is natural that the present

[1] See Howell and Thomson, op. cit., p. 6.

[2] Schweinfurth, G., *The Heart of Africa*, London, 1878.

[3] Schweinfurth, op. cit., p. 19. He is here referring to the Turkish pasha Ajang and Nyakat. Shortly after this Kwaaka, another descendant of the ancient reigning family, established himself as an 'unrecognized sovereign' in the southern part of the Shilluk country.

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628 693 led by the guard, and then removed on to Owiel who were similarly escorted off, about eight hundred strong, also in four companies.

There was a large assembly existing at the meeting place, with three bullocks and four sheep for sacrifice. These were provided by the *reth* and the two factions.

[65] Two several Chiefs had previously been told off to lead the factions to the meeting place which had been marked. This is important because experience has shown[1] that left to themselves the two factions will sit down about two hundred yards apart and then the memory of stolen cattle or a murdered brother will be too much for someone's self-control resulting in a flow of mystical energy. This will lead some young blood to dash forward and hurl spears or insults and then follows retaliation. If they can be got to move up close together without pause, it is obvious that the consequences of any hostilities will be so serious that anyone trying to start anything will instantly be suppressed by his wiser brethren in arms.

Both factions were finally got to sit down close up to the line and to put their shields on the ground as a sign of mutual confidence. The *reth* walked among them and briefly addressed them and they answered that they wanted peace. He was rather an impressive figure and seemed to have the situation under confident control. Some concerted hand-clapping was taken as a good sign by the public.

[782] The *reth*'s bullock was then led between one faction and the guard, thrown on its back, held by men of both factions, speared by men of both factions and led its throat cut.[2] Next, a procession of mystics was formed who took hand-fulls of the stomach contents and mumbled round throwing it at the factions. The next item caused most interest among the public. Throwers got up, mumbled round the guard and sat down touching Owiel who had the good manners to remain seated. Owiel's bull and sheep were led up, but put aside to be sacrificed at the shrine of Queen Abujok in Thworo next day. Thworo's bull was then led up and killed just as the *reth's* had been by persons with an active interest in the feud. Lower folk killed the sheep, one of which got up and managed to stagger a few steps under a rain of spear thrusts. This was considered a bad omen and one lay-member remitted the abortive peace between Fashoda and Fanyidwai in 1926.[3]

[781] [678] This cannot be quoted as evidence of the *reth*'s executive powers, for we know that he was accompanied by the District Commissioner on this occasion, but certain interesting facts emerge. In the first place, the attitude of opposition between the two groups is clearly assumed, though it is more than probable that at proceedings of this kind a display of hostile attitudes is demanded by convention. The author indicates that the *reth* busies himself with the actual organization of the ceremonies and certainly acts as arbitrator, visiting first one side and then the other. It is unfortunate that little mention is made of the ritual functions of the *reth*. In 1910 the Rev. D. S. Oyler described a similar peace ceremony in the settlements of Maimoro, Fakri, Farworo, and Fakr[4] and his account of the procedure does not greatly differ from that of Tidswington. He implies throughout that the desire for peace came from the participants and there is no suggestion that peace was forced upon them, even though the *Mawar*[5] was present. 'The people of this District', he says 'were tired of con-

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[1] Tidswington makes no reference to instances from which such experience derived. It must be assumed that some peace ceremonies failed from the start.

[2] Shilluk say that each man concerned should rub the sacrificial ox, which is then split (qod) and the two portions divided among the respective parties. This procedure is reminiscent of all ceremonies performed in Nilotic tribes for the ratification of peaceful relations.

[3] Unpublished District records by G. W. Tidswington, at Malakal, dated 5-4-31.

[4] Oyler, the Rev. D. S. 'The Shilluk Peace Ceremony', *S.N.R.*, 1910.

[5] Boulowar (or more probably Egyptian) administrative officer.

9.9Howell E-5 (1917-1950) 1954 F223 Shilluk F223

closed guerrilla warfare, and some of them were anxious to have the trouble finally settled.' He adds, 'Each side was afraid to make the decisive last P appear weak'.

Oyler's account gives us a clearer picture of the ritual performed by the *reth* and also of his function in exhorting the people to make peace. There is nowhere any suggestion that he compels them to do so, he merely 'advises'. Much of this 'advice' is mixed with statements which reflect the *reth*'s official capacity as Government agent. 'The king made a talk in which he pointed out that the colours of the animal to be killed had been of both red and black. The red was for the blood that would be shed, should someone break the covenant, and the black was for the evil of such a course. . . .' We, the black people unite with the red (white) people of the Government to reconcile you'.' Though much of the metaphorical aspects of this speech may have derived from the Rev. D. E. Oyler himself, it is not, as a matter of fact, unsupported of Shilluk speeches of this sort.[1] Lower we hear that 'he (the *reth*) informed the people that the animal was a cow of Nyikang, descendant of a cow owned by Nyikang. The king added more seriously: "The flesh of this animal is my flesh, and its blood is the same as my blood. Great disease will come on you, if you break the covenant, for you will be cursed by the blood." ' There, after considerable delay because no one was willing to take the responsibility of being first to spear the animal, men of both factions speared it to death and, as described also by Titherington, were pelted with the stomach contents.

One thing is striking. The orderly procedure described in these accounts bears little resemblance to the punitive expeditions carried out by the *reth* in order to suppress internal hostilities, and though this might be expected after thirty years of administration, it seems to me that the *reth*'s role as arbitrator is far more in accordance with his true functions in Shilluk society.

There are also references in District records to these punitive expeditions, but always without the evidence of actual instances. One hears of the 'custom of the *reth* of punishing a murderous or disobedient village by looting and destroying it. This he did either by sending a force of his own, if it was near Fashoda, or else, if it was a long way off, by sending orders to the Chief of the neighbouring village or section to do this. Such a force was apparently not resisted and there was no difficulty in finding it because there was sure to be a community with a feud against the culprits and also the *reth* only kept part of the loot. . . . This system seems to have survived the Turkiя and Mahdia, possibly because there was nothing incompatible in it with methods of those days.'[2]

The author of this account might have added that much in the methods employed may even have derived from Turkish example. The Turks were at pains to use the *reth* as an administrative agent and doubtless encouraged such raids carried out in the name of justice and security. The author continues: 'However, these methods came to an abrupt end with the removal of *reth* Kur in 1905, the appointment by the Government of his aged successor *reth* Fadiet, and the rules laid down at the time.'

From scattered references of this nature we are not able to reach reliable conclusions concerning the *reth*'s executive authority in the past in connexion with homicide and blood-feuds, whether actual or theoretical. There is certainly a strong tradition

[1] Cf. speeches made at the installation of *reth* Anei wad Kur. Howell & Thomson, op. cit., p. 31.

[2] 'A note on Customary Law', dated June 1931 (unpublished). The italics are mine.

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among the Shilluk that he was empowered to suppress internal feuds, that he actually did so with the assistance of an army of neutrals, and that, though the punishments inflicted on the guilty sections of the community were severe and included seizure of property and the enslavement of the guilty parties, little resistance was shown. At the same time, there are few examples cited in Shilluk tradition which date back to days earlier than the first alien administration. Such methods resemble the methods employed by those who were used as agents in Turkish times to maintain some kind of order. They are also reminiscent of Arab procedures, and it must be remembered that the Shilluk were influenced by Arab contacts.[1] They are in keeping also with the methods employed during the *Mahdia*.

On the other hand, it is quite clear that the *reth* has always had recognized functions as an arbitrator in blood-feuds. These functions are both purely secular, in the attempt to reconcile warring factions, and ritual, in the removal of prohibitions raised in feuds.[2] It is more than probable that in early days the *reth* would take no action unless he was certain that the two parties wished for peace. In Titherington's account we hear that, 'The *reth* walked among them and briefly addressed them and they answered that they wanted peace. . . . The taboo on the families at feud eating together, is removed by the *reth*.'[3]

Hofmayr says: 'When the number of the dead and wounded on both sides is equal, they stop fighting. The King will hold court and punish the offender who is in the wrong.' The idea that feuds cease when the participants are tired of fighting and of a perpetual state of insecurity is stressed again and again in reports. It is at this point that the *reth*'s intervention is accepted, and it seems to me doubtful whether he would normally intervene in any other circumstances.

Indemnity for Homicide

The present recognized indemnity for wilful homicide among the Shilluk is ten head of cattle. There have been frequent attempts by the Administration during the course of the last thirty years to raise this number, as a deterrent, but these attempts do not appear to have been either effective or generally accepted by the tribe. The traditional number demanded is also in doubt. Thomson, in an unpublished report, says: 'In the past blood-money for a killing was ten head of cattle to the deceased's family and ten to the *reth*. Later it became ten to the deceased's family, five to the *reth* and five to the Government. It is now (since 1932) ten head of cattle to the family of the deceased only.' I have sometimes heard it said that in *reth* Fadiet's time (1903–17) it was only seven head,[4] but it was raised to twenty, of which the *reth* took half, by orders of *reth* Fafiti when he first succeeded to the throne. It is also said that in the old days a girl was sometimes handed over instead of cattle, and although intermarriage between people at feud is considered wrong unless the full peace ceremonies have been completed, this girl was taken in marriage by one of the kinsmen of the dead man. If, by reason of some kinship relationship with the deceased, she fell within the prohibited degrees of marriage, she would be accepted as a

[1] *Cf.* The Baggara *Khums*: خمس, whereby neutral tribal segments would band together to punish wrongdoers, seizing their possessions, which were handed over to the deceased's family.

[2] Such as the prohibition on eating together and on intermarriage.

[3] Titherington, unpublished records.

[4] Sometimes quoted as being current in *reth* Kur's time (deposed 1903) too.

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some of the beasts are sacrificed during the ceremonies and others are added to their personal herds. One must, therefore, beg the question whether those portions alleged to be the right of the *reth* were ritual fees of this nature rather than 'fines' as is so frequently stated. It is a question of interpretation, and I suggest that even though repressive action and the exaction of 'fines' may have occurred, with the backing of foreign Governments, during the latter half of the last century and the early years of the present Administration, the payments were ritual in origin and concerned the *reth*'s ritual function in society. The use of the word 'fine' appears to me to be inaccurate.

Ritual of Purification for Homicide

As among other Nilotic peoples, a Shilluk who has killed another must perform certain rites to cleanse him from impurity which might otherwise affect his kinsmen. This process involves, first, the letting of blood, which is carried out by a magical expert (*ajwogo*)[1] who makes a small incision on his right shoulder with a spear. This is known as *tai dhani*. Secondly, a small sacrifice is made (usually a sheep), the object of which is to remove the curse of the dead man's spirit. As among the Nuer and Dinka, the killer is not expected to eat or drink until this ritual has been performed.

Accidental Killing

Accidental killing (*agweny*) is apparently not regarded as a serious offence among the Shilluk, especially if the two parties are connected by kinship or by close association in one territory. Hofmayr says: 'Accidental killing requires only the sacrifice of an ox at a peace ceremony and no more.'[2] District records indicate that two head of cattle sometimes were paid. At the Shilluk Chiefs' Council in 1934 it is recorded that 'the Council do not know whether there is a definite law on this subject or not. The *reth* says that years ago it was two head of cattle, one to the relatives of the dead man, one to the *reth*. He himself suggests two head of cattle to go to the deceased's family. This is confirmed as law.' I do not think that any such fixed indemnity existed in the past, but that intention was recognized and accident accepted in mitigation of the offence. At any rate the indignation of the deceased's kinsmen would not be so acute, and they would be prepared to accept an indemnity less than that normally demanded for intentional homicide.

Bodily Injuries not causing Death

On the subject of bodily injuries less than death, the evidence is even less reliable than on homicide. It is evident that such injuries require the payment of compensation if retaliatory action is not to follow. At the same time it is perhaps surprising that among the Shilluk, unlike the Nuer and Dinka, there are no recognized injuries for which compensation is given on a definite scale. We hear that 'for injury' an immediate payment of one bull must be made as a guarantee of good faith. Subsequent settlement is made on a scale regulated by the severity of the ultimate damage and rising, in the case of blinding, to the same rate as for death. Apart from the problem of the *reth*'s intervention in matters of this sort, it may be assumed, in the absence of

amount to eight cattle out of a total of forty.

[1] *Ajwogo*: Magical expert or specialist. These persons are not comparable to the Nuer functionaries, such as the *kwar kwar*, but to the possessors of spirits (*gwan kweth*). *Ajwogo* is a derivative of *Jwok*, meaning God in Shilluk.

[2] Op. cit.

To sum up what has been said above we may say that about the second half of the 16th century, a relatively fair complexioned wave of people settled in the present Shillukland, and united the aboriginals under the leadership of Nyikang into the framework of a nation. 174

The Shilluk traditions, as my informants told me, reveal that the ruling class brought with it the system of kingship. Nyikang had taught the people the exact procedure of electing the new kings; a procedure which is followed to the word until our day. If this is true, we can presume that Nyikang, when he taught the Shilluk this unwritten law, was quoting as much as possible the succession law of his own homeland. Some of the important procedures, or let us say a rite performed to know if the deity gives his consent to the new king-elect, is performed under the waters of the Nile. Quite readily this rite would be understood if we remember the Shilluk tradition which says that the original home of Nyikang was situated on the banks of a NAM DOUM , which means a great river or a lake. [173]

Hofmayr tell us that Tugo, the Shilluk king number 10, who reigned between 1690 and 1710, was the first king to introduce new coronation ceremonies. He says: "Tugo führte neue Krönungszeremonien ein, an welchen die Shilluk noch heute streng festhalten". 15) If this is true, and if we reject the story told to me by my informants, and presuming that Nyikang's own family were a stock of nomads, we can say that the present Shilluk kingship was a cultural element among the aboriginal inhabitants of the area, which may have been dormant during the first rule of kings who were still clinging strongly to their own traditions, and most naturally looking down upon the aboriginal practices and cults. A hundred years later, the glorious past of the ruling cast may have dimmed, and mixture and degradation of some of the ruling family members may have ultimately brought about new "shillukicised" generations, thus bringing the old customs into practice. This is a mere conjecture that needs more study to prove or refute it, and this is not the right place to discuss it.

The famous divine kingship among the Shilluk is still in practice. The notion of the kings being the incarnations of the first king, i.e. Nyikang, is still working, and the coronation ceremony of King Kur, in 1951, 17) is an undisputed proof of the existence of such a notion. When such an idea is so strongly adhered to unto now -no matter if they are Moslem or Christian Shilluk converts- it follows quite logically that the other component of the divine kingship must be functioning, or at least be still vivid in men's mind, and will be readily executed if there were free chances. 18) The other component is naturally 643

15) Hofmayr, p. 77

16) Westerman, p. 163, translates a story about the objection of Nyikang to human sacrifices practiced by some mysterious people of the river, whom he captured and incorporated in his domains. [114]

17) Howell, pp. 189-203. This article contains a good picture of Shilluk kings installation ceremonies. [648]

18) The government does not allow it any more.

643 the ceremonial killing of the kings. Some authors have discarded this practice 19), and alluded some killing of kings to family quarrels and competition over the throne. It is true that some brothers killed each other, but this is still one of the attributes of divine kingship.

According to the information I gathered in Malakal, King Dak, who died in 1951 at the Malakal hospital, was well guarded by the police during his treatment in the hospital, and no Shilluk was allowed to visit him lest he may be killed in the same traditional way as his ancestors. 20) My informants were sorry for the natural death of Dak, but they seemed to have accepted it as they were helpless against the troops of the central government. Just how far the Shilluk nation as a whole accepted it, I could not tell.

631 The political administration of the Shilluk country and its components may be summarized as follows: 21)

a) The Hamlet:

This is the smallest political unit with a chief at its head. The hamlet is formed by a lineage group of homesteads.

b) The Settlement:

This is a group of hamlets, i.e. a group of lineages gathered into a large area. At the head is a chief, called the Jago.

c) The District:

The Shilluk country is divided into eleven districts; each district is a combination of many settlements. These districts, though said to be organised by Nyikang, are not a permanent political factor. Its importance may have been felt in exceptional periods such as warfare, or to meet a common danger. The Egyptian government, and after it the Anglo-Egyptian government, used such divisions as administrative units. The important districts from the Shilluk point of view were Nuome and Tung, that is, the northern and southern marches of the land.

d) The Provinces:

There are two provinces in the Shillukland. These are important political divisions, and their importance has been shown clearly above. The chief of Dubale Kwom, and the chief of Golbany are the two chiefs of the southern and the northern provinces.

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19) "Evans-Pritchard considers that the ceremonial putting to death of kings (among the Shilluk) is probably a fiction ..." Butt, p. 54.
20) See also Howell, (5) p. 157.
21) Butt, pp. 46-48.

114 and in the hilly offshoots of the Abyssinian highlands represented
174 by the Dar Fung mountains. This shrinkage was due to the everlasting extension of the Hamitic and other Caucasic racial elements towards the south. Secondly, the evidences of similar place names do not mean a Shilluk migration alone, because though the Nilotic percentage in these tribes' languages did reach about 65%, "further analysis directed to determine which Nilotic language had exerted the greatest pressure indicated no real distinction ... the percentages being Nuer 47%, Shilluk 46%, and Dinka 46%". 67

If the Burun -a tribal group in the Dar Fung area- are included within the Nilotic language group, 68) and if there is a probability that the Dar Fung tribes are similar in their physical attributes to the substratum of the northern Shilluk province, then there is no wonder to see strong resemblances between both areas, and no wonder that many authorities erred in trying to clarify this resemblance by a one-sided Shilluk influence extended to Dar Fung.

On the same ground we can refute Westermann's assumption that "it is possible that this Shilluk population (the Berta and other Dar Fung tribes) in Sennar (probably he means the Fung kingdom) came to political influence and took part in the government of the state". 69) In reality there is need to assume a Shilluk migration, or invasion in this mountainous Dar Fung region, because the Shilluk are a riverain tribe, and on account of a common substratum, physical, cultural and linguistic in both areas.

6) Conclusion:

174 From the foregoing survey it is now clear that there
648 existed a relationship between the Fung and the Shilluk, but it is not a relationship of common origin.

The statement of Bruce about the invasion of the Gezira
114 by the Shilluk is not supported by dates nor by tradition of either
174 the Shilluk or the Fung. The only support comes from the Hamag elders of Jebel Gule, 70) but Mr. Chataway answers this question quite rightly. He states that "The Abu Likeilik family, when trying to oust the Fung, would be up against an obstacle of strong prejudice, seeing that they could not deny their descent from mere 'abid'. It was then too late to provide a satisfactory nisba for the Hamag, and the alternative was to say that the Fung were no better. Why not say the Fung were Shilluk and tack the suggestion on the existing traditions of Shilluk raids? That the Fung were black was added evidence, evidence to which Bruce seems to have given undue weight". 71)

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67) Seligman, p. 422
68) Butt includes the Burun in the Nilotic language group, and treats them as such in his book.
69) Westermann, p. LVI.
70) See note No. 59)
71) Chataway, p. 117.

In fact, the tradition of the Shilluk tells us of hostile relations between them and the Fung, and their first encounter, as was stated above, was on a battlefield. It is quite logical that, as the Fung extended their domains across the White Nile to the Nuba mountains and the Kordofan, the Shilluk were also -for a time- incorporated in the Fung domains. 72) We must not exempt the Shilluk from sharing the same fate with other Negro and Negroid neighbouring tribes. Many of the members of these tribes were transplanted to the Sennar area, forming the bulk of the Fung armies. It is recorded that these people gave their old village names to the new villages where they were living in service of the Fung Empire. Shilluk were among the Sennar armies, and Bruce rightly said that Shilluks are the troops of the king. And owing to the extreme aloofness and haughtiness of a Shilluk, it is not possible to explain the existence of Shilluk in the Fung army, or the transplantation of these Shilluk outside their country as an act of free will on the part of the Shilluk, or as free lancers serving the military ambitions of their deadly foe. The Shilluk must have been compelled to such acts under coercive conditions. We must always bear in mind that the Shilluk were facing a better organized enemy, with cavalry, which was totally unknown warfare equipment to the Shilluk. The Shilluk may have been excellent in using their tactics of surprise attacks, and on relatively isolated groups, but should this tactic succeed against organized armies with cavalry?

Recorded in the Shilluk songs are many pieces describing the frequent Arab slave raids, the havoc they played with the Shilluk, and prayers to the Shilluk former kings and ancestors to help them against the marauders. How could it be possible then to understand the situation arising from the assumption of a Shilluk origin of the Fung, or the statement of Arkell telling us that the governor of El-Ais was ruling the Shilluk relatives on the White Nile? How could it be possible that the Fung would forget their origin and loot their relatives, subduing them to slaves or mercenaries? And if the Fung did not themselves raid the Shilluk on account of alleged blood-relationship, why did they not afford them protection against Arab raids if we know that the Arab raiders are included in the Fung domain?

The other aspect upon which Arkell leaned was the killing of kings in Sennar, and the resemblance of this habit with that which prevails among the Shilluk. But we have invalidated this statement upon qualitative grounds.

If kings of Sennar were killed lawfully by a royal executioner, which in itself is not a fact agreed upon, they were killed on a totally different basis from that which was practiced among the Shilluk. Furthermore, we know that Shilluk kings were either suffocated, or clubbed to death, but with the Fung, a king

72) Arkell, (B), p. 17. He states that "The Fung Kingdom at its prime included most of the present Sudan, from Hannek in the north to Beni Shangul and the Shilluk country in the south ..."

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UPPER NILE PROVINCE.

THE SHILLUK PEACE CEREMONY.

628 This district had been disturbed by a feud for more than three years. The people of the district were tired of the continual guerilla warfare, and some of them were anxious to have the trouble finally settled, and to return to normal conditions. Each side was afraid to make the suggestion lest it appear to be weak.

628 634 643 [797] After an outbreak the mamur and the king or mek advised the chief men of the district to get together and make peace. The chief of the district came to the mission and asked to have their conference of the chief men here. Since the feud the chief of the district had been able to exercise his authority over one faction only. The Mainam, fraction, which included Mainam, Fakoi and Fatwara recognized him, but the people of Failo refused to accept him as chief. However the old men of Failo answered his call, and after several conferences both sides agreed that they desired to end the feud. They decided to inform the government and the king of their decision, and that peace, would be established, when it suited the government to send a representative with the king.

The king came to the mission as being neutral ground where both sides could come. He had two days to work before the arrival of the inspector. He needed only a few hours. The old men of both factions presented themselves before him. He said "You are the chief men. How is the talk?" They replied that it was finished. Akol, the chief of the district, then said it was his desire to rule the district well, but that he needed the help of the king, and the government to unite it. The king then dismissed the old men, and told them the talk was finished. He warned them to bring their fighting men to have the final ceremony as soon as the Inspector arrived.

628 634 [648] The Senior Inspector of the province, Mr. Jackson, arrived in the night. Chief Akol, heard the boat pass his village, and he was so anxious for the peace, that he ran to the mission to make sure it was the province boat. When he had found it was the boat belonging to the Inspector he ran back to call his men. He told the people he was

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having the feud brought to a close, and warned them, that they would do well to support him. He also told them, that should any man seek to renew the feud he would find great trouble. The quiet of the night was broken by the kudu horn calling the men to assemble. 628 634

In the morning Akol came to inform the king that the men had arrived. The fighting men stopped at a respectful distance. Akol called the Mainam faction to come near. He was told to call the rest of his country, and he said 'it is my country' and he then called the Failo men, and they came near. The king greeted them, and then Akol proceeded to give them some advice. He informed them that the king had given an ox to be used in the peace conference. He told them that in the future they were to refrain from murder, on the road, in the fields, or wherever they might meet their neighbours. He added, "The person who will commit a murder will ruin his own house. If you have a disagreement bring a case before the king or the government. If busybodies from outside bring reports against your neighbours, do not let it estrange you again." [643]

The young men with their weapons then moved out into an open place where they could find plenty of room for the final ceremonies. The men of each faction were separate, and Mr. Jackson, and the king stood between them. A great crowd of spectators had gathered. Some of them were from other villages, and some were men who from some reason or other could not appear in the performance even though from the interested villages.

Akol threw some dust into the air near the animal. It signified that as chief of the district he held the land, and it was also to ensure that no accident would mar the ceremony. [789]

A time of speech making followed. The visiting chieftains made talks of exhortation in which they emphasized the sacredness of a conference sealed with the blood of a victim. The king made a talk in which he pointed out that in colour the animal to be killed had bits of both red and black. The red was for the blood that would be shed should some one break the covenant, and the black was for the evil of such a course. "We, the black people unite with the red (white) people of the government to reconcile you." He told them that Akol was to be chief, and that the other responsible men were to obey him. He informed the people that the animal was a cow of Nyikang, that it was a descendant of a cow owned by Nyikang and [648] 537 628 643 776

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537 628 643 776 that its ancestors had also been owned by Dok, son of Nyikang. (That was added because the people of this district pay great honour to Dok.) The king added most seriously, "The flesh of this animal is as my flesh, and its blood is the same as my blood. Great disaster will come on you if you break the covenant, for you will be cursed by the blood."

537 628 648 The other chief men spoke. The Inspector inquired whether or not they were ready to abide by the promises they were making, and both sides declared they were.

628 643 782 Then the king called Akol saying "take the spear". The king then took the spear to be used from the hand of his follower, who had been carrying it. The spear was held up for the people to view, and they were informed that the person, who dared to break the oath would have the spear enter his body, even as the spear would later enter the body of the sacrifice.

628 782 The next ceremony was to pull the tail of the animal. Akol pulled for the Mainam faction, but one, who would have pulled for the Failo faction was rejected as being too young. Then one of their oldest men stepped out and pulled its tail. This act they looked [787] upon as an oath, that the men pulling the tail were to bear the blame if the peace should be broken. Disaster would come both to the man who pulled and his family, should his faction break the agreement.

Akol then rubbed the spear on the back of the animal, and then called for some one to give it the first thrust. A number who were called to do it refused because they were too young, and they feared the responsibility, because in case the feud should be renewed the man who shed the blood would be held guilty. Even then a chance was given to the people to refuse. They said, If you do not want peace, do not let the blood be spilled." A man was found to strike the animal. He gave it a serious wound. The animal walked toward [787] Failo. The people declared that the animal was showing that Failo was responsible for its death, that is Failo had been the original transgressor in the trouble. One young man from the Mainam faction said the decision was sure to be against Failo because the animal had been brought from Malakal with some cattle which were then in Failo, and the wounded animal was almost sure to turn back toward them. Then men from both factions speared it, and the animal fell.

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After the animal fell the two factions moved closer together. The animal was then cut open, and some of the contents of the stomach was taken by the old men, and thrown on the young men. That was done to show their united condition. The thought was that the animal eats a bit here and there, but in the stomach it all becomes one mass. Even so the inviduals of the two factions were to become one. The two factions then united in singing the song of Dok.

To conclude the ceremony the men of the two factions started to march, and as they marched the two factions mingled until the onlookers could not tell to which faction the people belonged. The old chief was so happy that he leaped about, and danced like a boy.

The Inspector then gave some tobacco to the chief men: After that the meat of the animal was divided, and part taken by each faction.

The meat was to be eaten in the villages, and the tobacco was to be smoked, and the people were to become one also through the eating, and smoking of the same thing. The formal ceremony was finished.

Before the people separated the king called a man, who had been under arrest for several months because he had taken part in the feud. The king said "When you see a man from the other village will you again curse him, and call to your friends to come on to slay him? The man said he would not. The king said "we heard of this man and his big words, but when we took him he was very small." He added that was often true of boastful men.

Both factions now profess to be glad that peace has been made, and declare that they intend to keep the peace.

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remnant, *derimo olang*[5]. These blacks in time also became *Collo* and the clan of Nyikang, originally the *Collo* par excellence, became known as *Kwar Reth*[6] in distinction from the remainder. 173

Shortly after his defeat at the battle of Wau, Nyikang had disappeared in a whirl-wind and his son Dak succeeded him as *Reth*. Dak was a great warrior and after expelling the *Fun* raided the country as far north as the latitude of El Dueim. In this he met little opposition. The main powers then existing were the kingdom of Tegale to the west and that of the Fung to the east, and the Shilluk seemed to have dominated the White Nile until about 1800. The northern boundary of the Shilluk country was, however, fixed by Dak at the site of the village of Tworokit (opposite Jebel Ahmed Agha), the country beyond being considered (as it is to this day described) as "raiding country."[7]

The period from Dak's campaigns to the arrival of the Arab slave trader El Fiki Mohammed Kheir in the reign of *Reth* Kwadhker (approximately 1850) is obscure. There are accounts of fighting with the Anuak; the Dinka appear to have arrived from the south-west in the reign of *Reth* Tugo (about 1750) and the Nuer to have reached Zeraf Island a little later. When the first Mudir of Fashoda[8] took up his position at Kodok in 1867 *Reth* Kwadhker was reigning and the distribution of neighbouring tribes was approximately as it is to-day. 175

Sir Samuel Baker describes how he caught this Mudir in the scandalous act of arresting Shilluk for non-payment of taxes (a proceeding not unknown to-day) and also how he interviewed the ex-*Reth* Kwadhker who had by then been deposed by the Mudir in favour of the Turkish puppet Ajang Nyidhok. At this period there was serious civil war between the northern half of the kingdom, supporting the usurper Ajang and the Government, and the southern half, supporting the deposed Kwadhker. Finally after Kwadhker had for many years 175 648 669

5. This may be translated "black battalions."

6. *Kwar* is a collective word meaning "descendants." Thus *Kwar Oman* means the descendants of Oman and *Kwar Reth* means the descendants of the (original) *Reth*, that is Nyikang.

7. "*pathe manyo*."

8. Ali Bey Kurdi.

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175 eluded capture the Mudir lured him into his encampment at Lul and
698 took him to Kodok where he ultimately died a prisoner.
669

Reth Ajang fell from favour over suspected complicity in the killing of some government troops engaged in an attempt to collect rifles from the tribe, and was hanged at Kodok. Thereafter the Mudir, Yusef Bey, decided to govern the tribe without a *Reth* and local chiefs were accordingly appointed throughout the country. This policy was evidently unsuccessful and in October 1875 Romolo Gessi, who happened to be passing in a steamer, heard from the Mudir that the garrison at Kaka, which consisted then of some 24 soldiers with one cannon, was being besieged by the tribe. He consented to take a relief party there. This party, 140 strong, landed at Kaka and was ambushed and killed almost to a man, Gessi being a spectator from the steamer.

This event caused the recall of Ali Bey Kurdi to Fashoda. He hanged many of the recently appointed chiefs and appointed as *Reth* Kwiekon a son of Kwadhker. Rashid Bey relieved Ali Bey Kurdi in about 1880.

In 1881 the Mahdi moved to Jebel Gadir. Rashid Bey, apparently on his own initiative, took a force variously estimated from 400 to 1400 strong which included *Reth* Kwiekon and marched by an inland route to Jebel Gadir in the hope of capturing the Mahdi. Almost the entire force was killed, including the Mudir and Kwiekon.

Kodok then became one of the marooned garrisons. A certain Jok Akoc[9] succeeded Kwiekon, but neither he nor the remaining vestiges of Government had much control over the tribe. Yor Akoc (father of the present *Reth* Fafiti and brother of Jok) went to El Obeid to pay respects to the Mahdi and got himself appointed *Reth*. Later, when the garrison left Kodok, Yor installed himself at Fashoda.

However the tribe was not to be left long in peace. During the famine in Omdurman the Emir Abbas Sami came in the S.S. *Safia* with a large body of Ta'aisha to feed off the country. *Reth* Yor did not co-operate in this scheme to the Emir's satisfaction and the following year Zeki Tummal, who had been campaigning in Abyssinia, was

9. Jok was never officially *Reth* and was superseded by his brother Yor almost at once.

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ordered to punish this recalcitrance. This he did with some effect. He set up a well-defended encampment at Fadiang (about six miles south of Kodok) and thence made repeated raids on the tribe. The Shilluk fled across the river and the Emir laid waste the whole country, succeeding finally in arresting *Reth* Yor whom he had beheaded at Fadiang. 175 648

Kur Nyidhok, a brother of the puppet King Ajang, had joined the forces of Zeki Tummal and when the latter left for Omdurman he took Kur to pay homage to the Khalifa Abdullahi. No sooner had Kur gone than Akol, another of Kwadhker sons, arose as a pretender in the south, and was barely prevented from effecting his entry into Fashoda by the defeat of his supporters at the hands of a force comprising all the sections from Burbok to Both at the battle of Kwom. This attempt was punished by Kur on his return from Omdurman at the battle of Dettim where Akol's supporters were defeated and Akol himself forced to retire to Abujop on the Sobat. Kur was *Reth* at the time of Marchand's arrival at Kodok, but was deposed by the present Government in 1903 and replaced by Akol's brother Fadiet. Fadiet was probably done to death in the traditional manner, by being suffocated by some of his wives, and Fafiti, son of Yor Akoc, was appointed. It is said that in this election the Mamur of Kodok was partial and that he contrived the appointment against the wishes of the tribe. This, if in any way true, has been much exaggerated. There was normal rivalry between Coti, son of Ajang, and Fafiti. Ajang had been a puppet of the Turkish Government and, having never been ceremonially installed in Fashoda, had never really been *Reth*. Coti's claim was therefore poor. Fafiti was supported by Bol Ayuel, Chief of Golbañ, and Coti by Ajang Agwet, Chief of Debalo. The Chiefs of Golbañ and Debalo are *ex officio* primarily responsible for electing the new *Reth* and as these two functionaries differed feeling was naturally high. The southern half of the country were antagonised by Fafiti's appointment and their allegiance to him accordingly remains to this day less sincere.

In 1932, largely owing to famine, Fafiti's prestige sank low and Coti's cousin, Nyaweilo Kur, conspired to kill him. The arrest and exile of Nyaweilo improved Fafiti's position and his prestige has probably grown in the last nine years. [669]

being crimes against the community, was that in cases of homicide the murderer (or his brother if the murderer was uncaptured) was compelled to become a *Bang Reth*.

Relations between a *Reth* and his retainers were friendly, nor does the treatment of those who were enslaved as a punishment appear to have differed from that of those voluntarily enlisted. The custom was for the retainers of each *Reth* to make a village for themselves near Fashoda. There they would live until the *Reth* died. The *Reth's* body would then be taken to this village and sealed up in a house where it would remain until entirely decomposed. Only then would the bones be removed by his retainers and buried in his original village. Some of the dead *Reth's* retainers would then move to the village where he was buried and their descendants would there remain with the perpetual obligation of tending his shrine. Others would remain at their village near Fashoda and would have no further obligations to the memory of their dead patron except that they and their descendants would for ever be known as "*Bang Reth Kwadhker*" or "*Bang Reth Nyakwac*" or as the case might be.

The retainers of a particular *Reth*, having severed connexion with their own clan, became a fictitious clan in themselves. As such they cannot intermarry, though there may be no relationship of blood. Nor could a *Reth* marry a daughter or sister of one of his retainers. A *Reth* would address the daughter of a retainer as *kwara* (my granddaughter) which well indicates the relationship subsisting between them.

Under the present regime, partly because the Government has frowned upon the practice and partly because the *Reths* are now deprived of their previous source of wealth, the *Reth* has none of these traditional retainers. To-day the *Bang Reth* comprise the descendants of retainers of previous *Reths*. In some cases they have removed themselves to a new locality but in any case they remain for ever *Bang Reth* "A" or *Bang Reth* "B" (in accordance with the name of the *Reth* their ancestors served) and never rejoin their original clan.

When a *Nyireth* was planted out the *Reth* used to send to live with him a few of his own retainers who became *Bang Nyireth* and

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177 635 This change was the less drastic because by that time the division into Luak and Ger had already lost most of its practical significance. There was then already existing a tendency away from the old and highly centralised regime to one in which power was exercised locally by chiefs of confederacies, a tendency which began when the Turkish Government attempted, after deposing *Reth* Ajang, to govern the tribe without a *Reth* and through locally appointed chiefs and which has since developed as a concomitant of the inevitable disappearance of the *Reth's* arbitary powers. The change of the Luak-Ger boundary had the effect of turning the Chief of Debalo Kwom, who had hitherto been "Chief of Luak," into the chief of the southernmost confederacy of Ger (*i.e.* of the present "Fashoda Division"). He continued nevertheless as the titular Chief of Luak by virtue of being Chief of Debalo Kwom. Recently the chieftainship of Fashoda Division was removed from Debalo Kwom and assumed by the Chief of Lul. An interesting question now is whether the Chief of Fashoda Division or the now subordinate chief of Debalo Kwom is titular Chief of Luak. That this is uncertain is an indication of the emptiness of the title for all practical purposes. It may not be until the *Reth* dies that an answer can be given. Probably the ceremonial functions which appertained to the "Chief of Luak" will be performed by whoever is the chief of Debalo Kwom.

The Grouping of Settlements into Confederacies.

177 637 [648] As has been said, the growth of territorial units larger than the settlement began with the Turkish experiment following the deposition of *Reth* Ajang. Use was doubtless then made, as has been made since, of the natural tendency of contiguous settlements to agglomerate, by reason of a common cause or of the existence of outstanding personality, into loose and impermanent confederacies, described by the term *luak*.[28] These confederacies have ever since been bolstered up to form the administrative units now called Divisions.

28. This word *Luak* has thus three meanings:
(1) a building for housing cattle.
(2) The southern province of the kingdom.
(3) An agglomeration of settlements.

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Thus of the present thirteen division chiefs only four hold traditional offices the others being government appointees over units based upon these rather vague confederacies. Though the four high chiefs do still possess an enhanced prestige their position is approximating rapidly to that of their less hallowed colleagues. This evolution to a more local form of government is a natural consequence of the inevitable lessening of the old autocratic power of the Rethship.

The impermanence of these confederacies is shown by a comparison between their composition in the Mahdia and their composition to-day (shown in Appendix IV), as also by the recent removal of the settlements of Mal and Abiangyei from Atodwoi Division to that of Detwok.

THE RETHSHIP.

The power of the *Reths* before Turkish interference was undoubtedly great. It was based partly on the semi-divinity with which tribal tradition clothes them and partly upon their great wealth in cattle and slaves. Justice was probably rough and large scale fighting more prevalent than litigation, such law suits as there were being seen, as previously mentioned, either by the settlement chief or by the *Reth* at Fashoda[29].

As well as wielding temporal power the *Reth* has always been the high priest of the tribal religion. Nyikang is mediator between God (*Juok*) and man, and each *Reth* is held to be a reincarnation of Nyikang. As high priest he has various obligations such as providing cattle for the sacred herds at Nyilual and Wau and providing a canoe for use at the shrine of Nyibodho (one of the Shilluk holy places).

Since the entry of the present Government the *Reth* has lost the means of acquiring wealth in cattle and is no longer allowed to have retainers of the traditional sort. He receives a substantial salary but this cannot purchase many cattle and his present comparative poverty has caused an inevitable decline in his temporal and spiritual prestige. The Rethship is living on its not inexhaustible store of divinity and the wonder is that the store has lasted so well.

29. The *Reth* is said to have had the enviable privilege of killing a tiresome litigant with a club.

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177 643 648 The *Reth* to-day is a convenient potentate the basis of whose power becomes more and more of an anachronism. In addition to being President of the "Central Shilluk Court," and as such hearing appeals from the twelve Division Courts, he is the mouthpiece of the Government in an ever increasing number of administrative functions and is invaluable in making peace in blood feuds and in dealing with all serious breaches of the peace. The tribe pays him elaborate outward respect, and continues to feel a genuine reverence for his office.

THE DIVISION CHIEFS.

177 634 It has already been explained that nine of the thirteen division chiefs are in a sense upstarts, being settlement chiefs exalted to an eminence which tradition does not justify, but that they are becoming progressively all to be regarded as having equal authority. They are appointed by the *Reth*, usually on the nomination of a council of the Settlement Chiefs concerned. The prospect of a monthly salary of £E. 2 and the anxiety of each settlement to provide the Division Chief makes the appointment a matter of considerable interest and rivalry. [648] [613] The Government's policy is generally to allow the chieftainship to remain with the lineage of the previous holder unless he was dismissed for misconduct and it is wished to penalise him and his line, or unless there are no suitable candidates from the holder's lineage, or unless his lineage has become so weak as to render impotent any chief appointed therefrom. On such occasions the chieftainship may change from settlement to settlement, as occurred recently in Fashoda Division. [613] [561] There is an unfortunate feeling implanted in the Shilluk that so long as a senior member of the family is alive it is improper that a junior member be appointed. A potentially able young chief will thus be rejected on the grounds of the existence of a doddering uncle. Nevertheless the Shilluk are basically aware of the desirability of a strong chief and a veto by the Government, expressed beforehand, upon any candidate who is too old will probably be excepted as a wise dispensation from above, relieving them of the odium of passing over an elder member of the family. [648]

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The present status and functions of the thirteen Division Chiefs are the same. Each one presides over the court of his Division, and is responsible for the due payment of taxes and for sundry administrative affairs such as the clearing of roads. They have become an essential link in the administration and the feeling of "division-consciousness" is growing and needs to be fostered. The future effectiveness of the *Reth* depends much upon the strengthening of their position as his local representatives.

THE SETTLEMENT CHIEF.

The Settlement Chief is traditionally directly responsible to the *Reth*, since the four intervening high chiefs used to act more as his High Sheriffs than as local potentates. In addition to the execution of the *Reth's* orders the Settlement Chief has always had certain semi-religious obligations such as the building of a house or two houses at Fashoda or the maintaining of the local shrine of Nyikang. The settling of disputes within the settlement has always been his duty and the modern tendency for him to be judicially short-circuited in favour of the Division Chief should be avoided as much as possible. He can and should relieve the Division Chief of much of his work. He should attend meetings of the court at least whenever any party to a case is from his settlement. He is responsible primarily to the Division Chief for public security, taxes and road work.

The settlement chief is selected by the lineage heads of the settlement and invested by the *Reth* who himself knots the *lau* over his shoulder. Those of Tonga alone are invested by the Division Chief.

THE VILLAGE HEADMAN.

The status of the village headman (*jal dwong pac*) varies in accordance with whether he is the headman of the principal village of a lineage (*Pan dwong*), in which case he is not only a village headman but also the representative of his lineage within the settlement, or the headman of a subsidiary village in which case he is a village headman pure and simple, the senior member of a group of homesteads. Headmen of principal villages often receive a *lau*, in some cases from a *Reth* direct

17: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1938) 1941
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awarded the return of his cattle in full together with the custody of the children. The only cases where divorce may be said to result from an act of the parties is where the cattle have not yet fully been paid and the wife is in consequence still in her own village. In this case if the wife's *gol* despair of the full bride wealth ever being paid they may call off the marriage and marry her to another. In this case the first husband must be repaid the equivalent of the cattle paid by him and this repayment should be made a first charge on the new bride wealth. Deductions will be made here also for children born, for even in such cases the children will go to the husband, provided always that the proffered sheep has been accepted. 586

If the wife had produced sufficient children to wipe off the whole bride wealth the husband will be entitled to receive nothing upon termination of the marriage, except that as has been said if the marriage has been broken through the wife's bad behaviour the husband may be awarded the return of at least a part.

Until about 1910 upon a breach of marriage the wife's *gol* had to return not only all the identical cattle paid which were still living but also all their living offspring, quite irrespective of their having passed lawfully into the possession of others. Thus divorce produced a string of litigation horrible to imagine. This state of affairs still persists with some of the Dinka of Equatoria Province. It may have the social merit of making divorce even more unpleasant in its consequences for all concerned, but it possesses also many obvious disadvantages which led to the change made by the Resident of the Shilluk in about 1910. Thereafter equivalent cattle were to suffice and offspring born after payment were not reclaimable. This change has been accepted by the Shilluk though there are still cases where reactionary chiefs go by the old rules. The change had the effect of rendering cattle negotiable instruments. 177 586 648 691 [171]

COMPENSATORY PAYMENTS IN SEXUAL OFFENCES.

The generic word for cattle payments in respect of sexual offences is *kwor*. *Kwor* is payable to the *gol* of the woman concerned if she is unmarried or still living with her own *gol* and to the husband if she is 684

17: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1938) 1941
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tiresome to those who encounter them, do not merit discussion. Subordination and obedience are not in themselves virtues. That the Shilluk are often highly insolent to those in authority is undeniable. This insolence usually takes the form of a supercilious silence and apparent complete disdain implying that "diplomatic relations have now been broken off." This attitude is really not exactly what it seems. In fact it is suppressed rage; but since their symptoms of temper differ from our own we are inclined, often wrongly, to think that it is pure calculated insolence.

The Shilluk have a code of manners which is remarkable. This is instilled into them when young. Even as neatness and order prevail within their houses so are the children taught good manners. When four or five years of age they are made to sit up straight at meals and eat properly. These good manners remain with them through life and distinguish their bearing from that of neighbouring tribes. Doubtless it is in part an empty form but the fact remains that the Shilluk manners are excellent, and their way of sitting in a meeting with their legs drawn backwards to one side and the soles of their feet concealed from view is very neat. No smoking is tolerated at such meetings and their general tone is orderly.

There is a habit, when listening to a superior speaking, of punctuating his remarks with a formal indication of assent. The word thus used varies with the speaker, and is most obvious when the speaker is the *Reth*. Here the word is either *kite kwan* ("the likeness of his ancestor," *i.e.*, Nyikang) or *Kunajuok* ("God's last born"). For members of *Kwar Reth* the word is *Kaiyo*, for the *Ororo* it is *Nyagol* and for some reason for the *Jung* clan it is *Dhiang*.[1]

It has already been explained how certain members of the *Kwar Reth* must be addressed by their titles or with their titles prefixed to their names. There are also certain respectful modifications which must be made to normal speech when speaking to or about the *Reth*, a *Nyireth*, or anyone of importance. These modifications relate largely to verbs of motion. The fiction has to be laboriously maintained that such

1. *Kaiyo* means "eldest born," *Nyagol* means "one of the family" and *Dhiang* means, literally "cow."

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944)1946
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1. Since the well-being of the Shilluk tribe depends so necessarily on the very existence of the *reth* and every action he takes, the death of a *reth* and the installation of a successor must be most carefully regulated by ritual and religious observances. 643

2. The occasion demands strict observance of all the rites and ceremonies necessary to carry the tribe no less than their figure-head from one status to another A false step will cause disaster to the tribe

3. The period of the interregnum is one of intense danger for the Shilluk tribe. Spiritually it is dangerous, because there is no human symbol of tribal cohesion. The *reth* is "out of status"; the whole tribe is in a like position [775] The soul of Nyikang is without a home. The newly appointed *reth* will later incarnate the spirit of Nyikang, but he does not yet possess fully the divine attributes which have the effect among his people of stabilizing his position To the Shilluk the political situation also is full of potential [669] danger because civil war may break out at any moment over the choice of a successor Even after the new *reth* has been appointed by the traditional college of chiefs, his life is endangered and every effort must be made to safeguard him

4. Therefore each stage in the burial and installation ceremonies successfully concluded is yet another crisis passed. [781] Emotional tension is manifest throughout—a rise and fall of political and religious feeling until the final climax is reached when the new *reth* is confirmed in his position by the homage of the temporal heads of the country Although the Sudan Government did not intervene either [648] in the choice of the new *reth* or in the form or timing of the events, the Shilluk knew well enough that no blood-shed would be tolerated. How much greater then must

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944) 1946
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643 this emotional tension and political excitement have been in the past.

5. Although many of the Shilluk treated the ceremonies lightheartedly and on occasions with much laughter, deep in their hearts was a profound respect for their own religious beliefs and a feeling of awe at the presence of Nyikang.

[781]

6. Despite the stormy path of recent Shilluk history in which *reths* were assassinated, hanged and exiled by an alien government, and despite the disintegrating influences of civilization, the continuity of tradition and the pious attempt to follow it was remarkable.[7]

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182 643 648 7. The songs and ceremonies were characterized by a marked anti-Dervish attitude which dates back to the persecution of the Shilluk and their rulers by the followers of the Mahdi. The facts show that these attacks increased rather than weakened the unity of the tribe and indeed, strengthened the institution of the *reth* as the symbol of tribal cohesion in the face of opposition.

104 It is sometimes difficult to translate Shilluk terms accurately and concisely into English. Original Shilluk terminology is therefore used extensively in the text. The following Shilluk terms are consistently employed:—

Reth: The "king" of the Shilluk.

Nyireth: A son (or daughter) of a *reth*.

Kwa: Literally "descendants of", refers to a clan and precedes the name of the clan. Thus *Kwa Okelo* "the descendants of Okelo", *Kwa Reth* "the descendants of the *Reth*."

Nyikang and Dak: Tribal heroes of the Shilluk. The first king of the Shilluk and his son.

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7. Cf. P. Munro. "Installation of the Reth of the Choi." *S.N.R.* Vol. 1. pp. 143 ff. (and reproduced in full in C. G. Seligman. *Pagan Tribes of the Nilotic Sudan*. Appendix I.)

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944)1946
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of the Detwok division came together, and so did all sections of Fashoda division, but the component sections of the Golbainy division split and formed separate contingents. It is probable that there is no deep tradition behind this, but that grouping is largely governed by what is considered a suitable size for a contingent. Lemmo is a small section and could not produce a contingent of its own, so it joined up with Kodok its larger neighbour. It is not clear whether the sections of Shilluk society have any definite traditional function to perform at the funeral wake of a *reth*. The *reth* had orginally planned that the four days of dancing should be apportioned as follows :--

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1. Fashoda 2. Golbainy 3. Detwok 4. Fashoda (again).

This arrangement was carried out on the first day, and the dancing confined to Fashoda division, but Nyigir turned up and were regarded as intruders. Next morning, however, everyone else appeared, and the decision was taken to cut the dance to two days only.

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The late *reth*'s mother (Note 3) was a Nuba woman from near Fungor, which is on the western boundaries of Shilluk country. Some of her relatives arrived on the second day of the ceremony. Naturally they played no significant part, but it is interesting that they should have come at all.

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Layout of the village Pareth Fafiti.

Pareth Fafiti, also called Abwogatho, "fear of death", the village which the late *reth* built for himself, (Note 4) is of medium size and of the usual Shilluk type. There are three cattle byres built round an open space, which is about 70 yards in diameter. The houses are built round the outside of this open space and five of these, in which the wives of the late *reth* reside, had been repaired and the fences round them renewed. The tomb of the late *reth* is the house where his senior wife lived, and in form is no different from any Shilluk homestead except for the eight cross bands on the fence and a stockade of withies outside, which was built after the late *reth*'s burial. This

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19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944) 1946
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homestead, including the stockade, is the form of all tombs of Shilluk *reths*, and also of the numerous shrines of Nyikang which are scattered throughout the country. Outside the tomb a temporary semi-circular screen had been erected, and against this the banners of the divisions were leant and also the spears of the deceased. At the end of the ceremonies the horns of the bulls which were sacrificed were hung upon this screen.

The preliminary day of the funeral dance was confined to Shilluk chiefs. It was said to be a "dance of swords", and only the spears of the late *reth*, about thirty in number and carried by his widows, were brought at all. Those who possessed them carried swords, most of which had been captured from the Dervishes or the Turks, or bought from Arab merchants. The sword is not a Shilluk weapon, and it is probable that they were produced on this occasion to express the anti-Dervish nature of the ceremonies, an attitude of mind which was emphasized by the Shilluk songs of hate against the Dervishes, which on this day and later were sung at frequent intervals. It is difficult to say why the funeral dance of the *reth* has associations with their struggles with the Dervishes, but it may be connected with those Shilluk *reths* who were killed in battle, hanged or died in captivity. The dances are public, and, apart from the funereal aspect of the ceremonies, the defensive unity of the tribe against outside aggression must be made apparent. The tribe is without a *reth*, who is the symbol of their unity, and such occasions call for a dramatization of their co-operation against external enemies. Those who had no swords carried millet stalks, which they plucked from the fences in the village.

At four in the afternoon, the Kwanyikir, after they had set up the drums, (Note 5), walked in procession round them in an anti-clockwise direction, while the dancers began to collect in the centre of the village. After a short interval, a white bull was speared, and the carcase was handed over to the Kwanyikir as a reward for their service. The

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944) 1946
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him no malice, though his election has practically taken away their chances of becoming *reth* in future. All the same there remains potential danger to the new *reth*-elect from an angry or ambitious *nyireth* trying to ambush him by night. No armed rising is now likely, but an individual challenge remains a possibility for the *reth* till the end of his days. 643 644 [669]

The initial ceremonies are simple, and soon over. There remains an interval for the *reth*-elect, until he is installed by Nyikang. The funeral obsequies of his predecessor are largely arranged by others, though he has a say in fixing dates and procedure. 643 [766]

A final word may be said upon the part played by the intervention of government in this and previous elections. As explained above elections have taken place in 1903 and 1917 in the time of the present government, and before that there was a period of uncertainty, sometimes amounting to civil war during the Mahdia and "Turkia". There is what might be called a "traditional" tendency towards civil war at the time of the election of a *reth*, which is the customary way out of an impasse caused by the disagreement of the two "kingmakers". Since the advent of the present government steps have been taken to get the *reth* elected by peaceful means, in spite of the disagreement. 175 643 648

In 1903 the governor at Kodok himself presided at the election, and more or less dictated the choice of Fadiet as *reth* in place of Kur. Kur had appeared somewhat too oriental in his methods, and it was thought that Fadiet would be more amenable as a government nominee. This proved to be the case, but the fact that he was nominated by government made him of little political importance in the tribe.

In 1917 a disagreement between the king-makers threatened civil war, and the governor had to instal Fafiti and protect him by a detachment of troops. This again detracted from his importance as tribal head.

In 1943 the kingmakers reached agreement, and government

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944) 1946
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175 643 648 had nothing to do except to warn the Shilluk that a *reth* chosen by violence would not be accepted by government.

643 During the interval between the death of a *reth* and the final installation of a successor the Shilluk lack, in a certain degree, their chief mediator with Nyikang and God, and the *reth*-elect lacks certain attributes of divinity, which are bestowed upon him later by Nyikang. Both parties express this inadequacy by certain prohibitions on their behaviour, many of which, in the case of the *reth* at any rate, are not signs of mourning but signs of respect to Nyikang, as they endure till his installation, and do not in all cases cease with the wake of the deceased. It is forbidden for Shilluk to light grass fires (except perhaps [688] along the drying marshes, by the river banks) between the death of one *reth* and the installation of his successor. Any offender is liable to a fine. There are two types of building among the Shilluk; walls 341 are built from mud alone laid in circular layers, or else a framework 643 of millet stalks is first erected and then packed with mud outside and in. The latter technique is regarded as inferior; the former is the royal or divine style of building. Fashoda is built like that, and all the shrines to Nyikang, *reths* and *nyireths* throughout the country. [194] Men of substance also build their houses after this fashion, and it seems as if this may have been the original traditional form of Shilluk building, and the other form is looked upon as something foreign. This royal style of building is forbidden in the same way as the burning of grass. It is said that the prohibition upon this royal style of building is a sign of respect to Nyikang; "you must not build in Nyikang's style, while Nyikang's houses are down". Nyikang's houses are not [778] actually thrown down, except the great shrine of Fanyikang, but [346] each shrine of Nyikang is rebuilt by each new *reth*, or should be; and there is a general feeling that there is a rebirth of the whole Nyikang tradition at the installation of a *reth*. During the period of the interregnum there is a general feeling that something has passed away from the Shilluk, and requires renewing by Nyikang's reappearance, and until Nyikang himself has come to renew his contact with the Shilluk the people mark the interval by abstaining from building in the way they associate with Nyikang. Building of the inferior style

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944) 1946
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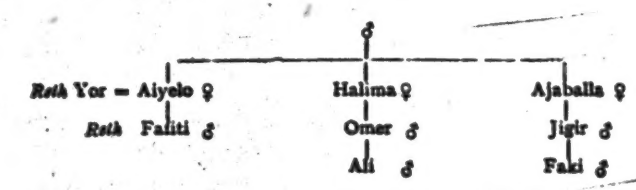
NOTE TO INTRODUCTION.

000 2. Sir Samuel Baker. *Ismailia* p. 102.

NOTES TO PART I

644 3. The relationship of the two most important men among the late *reth's* maternal relatives is recorded below :—



Ali and Faki, descendants of Fafiti's mother's sisters, were present.

643 648 The Nuba of the Fungor area have considerable traditional connection with the Shilluk. The bamboos for Nyikang's body are brought from here, and gifts are exchanged between the *reth* and the local Nuba chief, whom we met at Fashoda some time after the installation when he was being invested with the insignia of a Shilluk chief.

643 361 103 4. *Reth* Fafiti was brought up in a village in Kodok section, but after 1917 the supporters of Coti Ajang were too numerous for comfort in Kodok section, and Fafiti, in fear of assassination, moved his village to Golbainy and called it Abogathow "fear of death."

534 766 643 5. The royal Shilluk drums had special houses built for them in Fashoda, and special custodians appointed for them. These drums no longer exist. Shilluk say that *reth* Fafiti, angered because *reth* Fadiet had held no fuueral dance for *reth* Kus hurled the royal drums into the Nile, and held the dance for *reth* Fadiet with Fadiet's own drums. For the funeral dance of a *reth* (*wowo*) the drums are stood up on end in shallow holes prepared in the ground, and beaten with newly cut sticks of the *heglig* tree. For other funeral dances, the drums are mounted horizoutally upon forked sticks.

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944)1946
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such is the spiritual oneness of Nyikang and all *reths* that their property is ultimately under the authority of Nyikang, and belongs to Nyikang. 643 778

20. There are two traditions about Cal. We think there must have been two sons of Nyikang called Cal. One is said to have been the second *reth* of the Shilluk, and the other is said never to have come to Shilluk country, but to have stayed behind in Uganda to become the ancestor of the Acholi. It was the latter tradition which was more in evidence in connexion with the effigy of Cal, but the former explanation might have been more reasonable. 173 778

21. It is the tradition that a man should be tied down between the opposing armies to be stepped over by the combatants. In 1903 however, at the time of the installation of *reth* Fadiet, a young man went to the Governor at Kodok, and petitioned him to forbid the *reth* to tie down his father to be stepped over. The Governor forbade this practice, for the danger of the man being trampled to death was considerable, and ordered that a bull be substituted. A bull was used at the installation of *reth* Fafiti as well, but now the petitioner of 1903 a man of the Kwa Nyidiang, whose duty it was to provide the man for tying down, asked if he might be tied down in place of the bull, for, he said, his defiance of the custom in 1903 had caused his family to sicken and die. Nyikang was consulted about this, but he said "If you wish to carry out the old custom, you must do it completely, and provide me with a girl to take back to Akurwa." The negotiations broke down, as no one would provide the girl, and a bull was substituted. But it was rather halfheartedly drawn across the battleground, and not tied down between the two armies. Seligman (*op. cit.* p. 95) suggested that the man should have been tied down at Khor Arepejur on the first day of the ceremonies. We think that he must have been wrongly informed by the Shilluk, in view of all the circumstances surrounding the hitch in this second mock battle. 177 643 648

20: Thomson G-5 (1945-1946) 1948 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

Fafiti had done. Opinion was decided that the succession lay with the sons of Fadiet, and as the electors gathered at Fashoda, so the sons of Fadiet left their homes and came within easy reach. This was a breach of tradition, which demands that all *nyireth* at such a time should remain quietly at home. It gave rise to certain fears among the chiefs that some *nyireth* might try to instal himself in vacant Fashoda by force. There was no evidence in the event that any *nyireth* had had such an intention. 643

The sons of Fadiet were not well known to the chiefs; unlike the sons of Kur, they had a reputation for being quiet and unassertive. There was no obvious choice designated, as Anei had been designated by Fafiti. The two king-makers reduced the sons of Fadiet to a short list of four names, and waited for a lead from me, as they could not decide upon any one of these four. After my suggestion that Dak Fadiet of Falo, one of their short list, would be a good choice, the chiefs at once agreed to him. There had been rumours of bribery, as in 1917, and two bribes were known to have been offered to, and refused by, Jago Tabo of Golbainy, the chief of Gol Dhiang. One had been offered by *nyireth* Nyikang Kur, a "princess" of evil repute, who wished her uterine brother, a son of *reth* Fadiet, to succeed. It appeared from a discussion with the two kingmakers that bribery on such a solemn occasion would result in certain death for the recipient at the hands of Nyikang and was out of the question. This may be so, and would be a reasonable tribal sanction to ensure an unbiassed choice. There was a suggestion from the southern Shilluk, where most of the sons of Fadiet live, that the electoral college with its northern bias would choose a *reth* from the north. There was no sign of this, because it was agreed at once that a son of Fadiet must succeed, and no one of these sons lived north of Fashoda. The feeling in the south that the north has more influence in Fashoda probably arose because the lines of *reth* Yor and *reth* Kur both come from the north and only that of *reth* Kwathker and his son Fadiet from the south. Fashoda itself is considered to be in the northern half of the kingdom. 643 666 [648] 662 643 666 [687] 643 666 631

Dak Fadiet was initially installed, and ceremonially washed and shaved by Ororo girls in Fashoda on 18.11.45. He was followed by a large crowd of some hundreds of armed men from Gol Nyikang and particularly from his own area of Fanyidwai and all the Colo chiefs present. His following was much larger than that of Anei in 1943. The crowd may have been expressing simple gratification that at last a *reth* had come from the south; they may have been there to try and prevent a candidate from the north being installed. But the ceremony 643

24: Howell E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

4. *jago* Aturwel (Fadit Division)
5. *kwanyireth* Akwei (Detwok Division)
6. *jago* Ongwany (Muomo Division)
7. *jago* Olwak (Fanyidwai Division)
8. *kwanyireth* Dhikwan (Nyijok Division)
9. *kwanyireth* Yomon (Lul Division)
10. *kwanyireth* Geny (Malakal Division)[4]

I informed them of three candidates who on various grounds were unacceptable to the Government and left them. On the night of the 13th matters were hastened because *nyireth* Kur was summoned by the Electoral College and marched with his followers to Akwabai to await daylight and formal acceptance. I arrived at 7.30 a.m. on the morning of the 14th and found the new *reth* already in Fashoda which he had entered after stepping over a sheep tethered to the ground[6]. I waited for two hours while certain rituals (*kwer*) was performed, including the making of new fire by rubbing fire-sticks together (*pic mac*), water boiled over the fire and used for the shaving of the *reth's* head. The chiefs—a very large cross-section of Shilluk society, for only *kwanyireth* Deng of Apac, and the chiefs of Tonga and Fanyikang had not arrived—together with the men of Kodok and others present shouted their allegiance and a black ox (no entire animal could be found) was speared, stood looking dazed for about five minutes and then fell on its left side (a good omen) just by the royal cattle byre. The chiefs dispersed on the 15th, leaving the *reth* to contemplate for a few days in his father's home, while Fashoda was being organised to house a new *reth* after being deserted for several weeks owing to *reth* Dak's absence in hospital."

Mr. Baker has also remarked that in the list of chiefs given above, only the first three are essential at this meeting. "The others are truly only witnesses or at most proposers of candidates." Thomson, speaking of the election of *reth* Dak, says "it was clearer to me than before that the choice rests entirely with the chiefs of Gol Dhiang and Gol Nyikang[7]." "I doubt whether even the chief of the *kwareth* (*jago jung kwareth*) has any influence: he and the other members of the College have only to listen to a decision."[8]

I had not the time to attend all the events or to investigate all the aspects of the preparations which led up to the installation on this occasion. Mr. Thomson and I between us had been able to cover much of the ground on the accession of *reth* Anei. Mr. Thomson was able to add further details on the installation of *reth* Dak. It must be remembered, however, that the death of one *reth* and the installation of another takes not less than a year to complete and that the ceremonies are set over a wide field from one end of Shilluk

[4] See Howell & Thomson, *op. cit.* p. 31-33.

[6] The significance of this act (*akadh*) is discussed in a previous article: S.N.R. Vol. 33 Part I.

[7] Howell & Thomson, *ibid*, p. 75.

[8] Thomson, *op. cit.* p. 152.

26: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1937)1937
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

employed they are being nursed by God (Shil., *mith yi Jwok*). They do not go to, come from or enter a house: they are taken to, brought from or stuffed into a house (as the case may be) by God. God is supposedly the sole motive power of such ethereal beings. Sometimes this fiction produces strange complications in the syntax, and another difficulty is that in replying you must be careful to use the ordinary word in relation to yourself, thus tacitly deprecating the idea of any divine agency as far as you are concerned.

The *Reth*'s head is respectfully designated his "pebble," his pipe is his "mud," his beer is his "water" and his donkey is his "dog." When he sits on the ground he is said to have "come to anchor" (Shil., *amak*). When he gets up he is, of course, lifted by God. It seems that the terms used for royal objects are not, as might have been expected, names of things superior to the actual object, but that they are inferior substitutes. An explanation may be that in the magnificence of the royal presence the objects surrounding him lose half their natural lustre.

In the following dialogue the Shilluk expressions which would be used are translated as exactly as possible into English. If there is anything comic in it, it must be stressed that this is purely incidental to the purpose of this note (which is serious).

Scene—FASHODA. The District Commissioner stops the lorry outside the royal houseto pick up the *Reth* to take him to Kodok to meet the Governor.

D.C. (*by way of greeting*): You have been out grazing, Father?

RETH (*deprecatingly*): I have slept; have you been out to graze?

D.C.: Yes, thank you, I have slept.

RETH: You have been brought by God?

D.C.: I have come.

RETH: You are being nursed by God?

D.C.: I am quite well, thank you; now, are you ready to be taken by God to Kodok? If so, be lifted up by God into the front seat beside me and we will be off; . . . but wait; have you got that thing for your pebble which the Governor-General gave you?

RETH: Oh, I am so sorry. I have forgotten to get it. I will go and fetch it. Meanwhile, you be taken by God in the lorry to that tree, turn

26: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1937)1937
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

round, and be brought back here again by God. I will be back here in a second. 195 643

D.C.: Be taken away by God. (*D.C. turns the lorry round and awaits the Reth.*) You have found it? Good. Now we are off. . . . I thought you would be nursed by God in Kodok over the week-end as there are many cases I want you to see. Then you can be taken back to Fashoda by God on Monday on your dog. 648 539

RETH: Yes, I can return on Monday on my donkey.

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

Chapter V

A LITTLE HISTORY

Before going on to tell of the government and customs of that tribe of the Southern Sudan whose acquaintance we have already made, it might be as well to pause awhile, and briefly to relate what is known of the history of that country of which their land forms a part. 175

The Sudan (Bilad-el-Sudan: The Country of the Blacks) is that great part of Central Africa which lies north of the Equator between the 5th and the 22nd parallels. Nearly 1,000,000 square miles in area, it is bounded on the north by the Libyan Desert and Egypt, east by the Red Sea, Eritrea and Abyssinia, south by Kenya, Uganda and the Belgian Congo, and west by French Equatorial Africa. Since the great river Nile which flows throughout the length of the Sudan and Egypt is the chief means of communication and an easy method of transport between the two countries, it is to be expected that earliest historical records recount instances of trading and raiding from one country to the other. [101]

By about 2000 B.C. the Egyptians with their vastly superior culture had made great inroads into the northern regions of the Sudan, had founded colonies, built a large fortified town and established a chain of fortifications along the Nile. This colonization lasted for some 200 years and about 1700 B.C. the colonists were withdrawn apparently to assist in the defence of the mother country then in the process of being invaded and conquered by Asiatic tribes, the Hyksos. The Hyksos' domination of Egypt lasted for over a century, but eventually the invaders were expelled and the Egyptians, once more secure in their own country, resumed their colonization of the Sudan. This second period lasted until about 1000 B.C. when, with the decline of the Egyptian 175 648

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

175 Empire, the Egyptians once more disappeared from Sudanese
648 history.

For the next 200 years there is a gap in the records of relationship between the two countries, but then we find that the rôles of conquerors and conquered are reversed, and that Sudanese kings have successfully invaded and taken possession of Egypt and reign there as Pharaohs. The Sudanese dynasty in Egypt came to an end when the Assyrian hordes swept over the land in 660 B.C. but it continued in the Sudan itself in two separate kingdoms for nearly another 1,000 years, the one kingdom being destroyed by the Romans in 23 B.C. and the other overthrown by the Abyssinians in 350 A.D.

After this there is another blank in Sudan history covering the next 200 years until in 540 A.D. Christian missionaries reached the country from Asia Minor, having been sent by the Empress Theodora of Constantinople. Christianity spread rapidly over Northern Sudan and survived in that region in the north until the land was overrun by Mahomedans from Egypt in 1340, and in the south—that is, as far south as the country round the junction of the two Niles—until about 1500, when there, too, it succumbed to the ever encroaching tide of Moslemism. The next 300 years is a record of inter-tribal fighting and internecine warfare, as, lacking a powerful central authority, the various petty sheikhs incessantly preyed one upon another. The country was thus reduced to anarchy and was easy spoil for the organized invasion which came from Egypt in 1821.

This date may be said to mark the beginning of the modern history of the Sudan. The invasion was made by Mohammed Ali Pasha, Viceroy of Egypt, then a dependency of Turkey, and thus the conquest was made in the name of the Sultan of the Ottoman Empire. Mohammed Ali lost no time in establishing the country on an organized basis. It was divided into provinces and districts under Egyptian and Turkish officers directed from a Governor-Generalate at the newly founded town of Khartoum, built at the confluence of the Blue and White Niles. Mohammed

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Ali's conquest of the Sudan was not for the purpose of bringing peace and prosperity to that unhappy country. He looked upon it as a vast milch cow whose yield was to supply him with the means of realizing his great ambition: the establishment of himself and his descendants as rulers of Egypt and the Sudan, completely independent of Turkey. Hence the primary occupation of the new government was the collecting of revenue in the form of tribute to fill Mohammed Ali's war chest, and of slaves to swell the ranks of the new Egyptian Army he was founding to wage war against his Turkish overlord. Frequent raids were made along the White Nile among the helpless pagan tribes for the purpose of capturing slaves both for recruits for the army and for domestic labour. Mohammed Ali attained his cherished title of independent ruler of Egypt and Governor of the Sudan in 1841, but this achievement did not stay his rapacity or that of his successors and their lieutenants. Indeed during the ensuing years the traffic in human lives reached enormous proportions. Better arming of the slavers' private armies and better organization of the raiding parties enabled them to venture further and further south. Huge parcels of land were farmed out to the merchants who found a rich return for their investments among the hapless people of Southern Sudan. Khartoum became the great slave market and clearing house of the Sudan.

With the accession of Ismael as Khedive of Egypt in 1863 the first attempts were made to suppress or at least to diminish the slave traffic and to formulate some kind of progressive policy for the country. He called to his aid such men as Sir Samuel Baker, Colonel Charles Gordon, Rudolf Slatin and Gessi and appointed them as Governors of Provinces with full authority to stamp out the trade in slaves. That the efforts of these men were not more successful (in one year, for instance, Gordon and Gessi captured sixty-three caravans of slaves) was due not only to the strenuous opposition of the slave merchants themselves but also, and indeed mainly, to the corruption in high places among the Egyptian Pashas, most of whom had a keen financial interest in the business

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and had no intention of being deprived of so lucrative a source of wealth. Ismael's schemes for the betterment of the Sudan included the extension of the telegraph from Egypt to Khartoum, the inauguration of a postal system, the founding of a company to develop the agricultural resources of the country and of a steamship company. His reforms, however, were too few and came too late, and moreover he could not implement his authority with sufficient force to remedy the greatest of all the evils under which the country laboured, the slave trade. Whilst Gordon was at hand the traffic had decreased considerably, but with his recall to England in 1879 and replacement as Governor-General by an Egyptian, it revived immediately and flourished with greater vigour than before.

The unhappy Sudanese, crushed by the oppression of their Egyptian overlords and seething with discontent, were ripe for revolt and wanted only someone who would unite them and lead them in rebellion. A leader was found in the person of Mohammed Ahmed, the son of a carpenter, who had gained a reputation as a religious teacher and ascetic. He declared himself to be the Mahdi, the divinely appointed prophet, and proclaimed a holy war against the foreigners in the Sudan. The movement commenced in August 1881, and spread with surprising rapidity. Lack of appreciation of the situation both at Khartoum and Cairo resulted in the small expeditionary force sent to destroy the insurrection being cut to pieces and in the increasing strengthening of the Mahdists. Kordofan and Darfur provinces were overrun, and when at length in the middle of 1883 the Egyptian Government made a supreme effort to stamp out the rebellion, the Mahdist army easily defeated and almost annihilated the force sent out against it. The whole of the Sudan was now open to the Mahdi.

In February 1884 General Gordon returned to the Sudan with instructions from the British Government to withdraw the Egyptian garrisons. He arrived too late to accomplish anything, however, and lost his life when Khartoum fell to the Mahdists in January 1885. With the fall of Khartoum

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and the death of Gordon all outside influence on the Sudan came practically to an end. But the troubles of the unfortunate Sudanese themselves were by no means over. They had merely exchanged one tyranny for another. Six months after Gordon's death the Mahdi also died and was succeeded by his chief lieutenant, the Kalifa Abdullah; under him slavery, pillage and rapine quickly revived, revolts among the disillusioned tribes were ruthlessly and bloodily suppressed and anarchy reigned undisputed for the next thirteen years.

In 1896 preparations were at length completed by the British and Egyptian Governments for the reconquest of the Sudan. A joint Anglo-Egyptian army under the command of Major-General Kitchener, later Field-Marshal Lord Kitchener, invaded the country through Egypt, and in a campaign which lasted for two and a half years drove the Mahdist forces steadily before it and finally routed them decisively at the Battle of Omdurman in September 1898. The years of tyranny and oppression were over at last.

The new government of the Sudan took the form of a condominium, that is, a joint administration by England and Egypt by which the two countries pledged themselves to administer the Sudan primarily for the welfare of the Sudanese. The history of the Sudan during the past half century is an eloquent testimony of how well this object has been achieved.

The first step taken was to establish law and order throughout the land. The Governor-Generalate was restored but with the difference that the new holders of this exalted office had a far different conception of their duties and responsibilities than had their pre-Mahdist predecessors. The system of division into Provinces was re-established under British Governors who administered their charge with the assistance of District Commissioners. A police force was created, and gradually peace, order and security was imposed on a land which had enjoyed none of these blessings in all its previous history. Fully alive to the necessity of training the Sudanese in order that he might eventually

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175 take control of the government of his own country, the new
648 Sudan Government took immediate steps to bring education to an almost entirely illiterate people. Less than four years after the Battle of Omdurman, the Gordon Memorial College was opened by Lord Kitchener in the newly-built Khartoum as the nucleus of educational development in the Sudan. Elementary schools were opened to bring the rudi-
[871] ments of education to the peasantry and later, as the need arose, intermediate schools, a technical school and a teacher training college. As the number of literates grew, other departments acquired their own training establishments. The Kitchener School of Medicine and the Lee Stack Laboratories provided for the training of Sudanese doctors, chemists and dispensers; the Atbara Railways School gave the young Sudanese the opportunity to take control of the railway system which covers the northern part of the country
[505] and of the fleet of steamers which operates on the Nile south of Khartoum. In the Law Courts Sudanese advocates plead their causes before Sudanese judges and magistrates who have been trained in the School of Law. The Agricultural and Veterinary branches have their own training establishments, many of the senior police and army officers are Sudanese, and the training of officers in the political and administrative departments is so far advanced that Sudanese District Commissioners and Assistant District Commissioners are now common, and several have been promoted as Deputy-Governors of Provinces.*

648 For some twenty-five years official educational efforts
871 were confined almost exclusively to the peoples of the north.
797 In the south missionary bodies, both Catholic and Protestant, without Government aid or recognition, laboured untiringly among the primitive peoples in their efforts to give them some share at least of the educational benefits enjoyed by their more fortunate brethren in the north. Only in 1926 was Government aid given in small measure to help to defray

* Since this was written all British officials have retired, and except for the Governor-Generalate, Sudanese have taken charge in all departments.

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the educational expenditure that hitherto the missionaries had met from their own meagre resources, and it is only during the past decade that official steps have been taken to promote higher education in the south and to assist the missionary organizations in a way commensurate with their labours in the field of education. It must be stated, however, that plans for the development of education in the south were in hand in 1938, but the outbreak of war prevented their being implemented. During the years in which the Sudanese were educationally being reared from childhood to adolescence, and from adolescence to manhood, the administration and development of their country was in the hands of experts from outside, generally from Britain, which country too, in the beginning, provided the financial assistance necessary to launch the various schemes which such wholesale development entailed. British doctors inaugurated and took control of the public health of the country and gradually established large, well-equipped hospitals throughout the land; in keeping with the number of trained Sudanese doctors, dispensers and medical assistants, dispensaries were opened in more remote districts and administered from each hospital. Engineers developed the railway which the army had laid down to assist Kitchener's campaign against the Mahdists and extended it to cater for the northern half of the country, and for the south built and launched the first passenger and cargo vessels which have grown into the large fleet of steamers which today provide the main passenger and commercial link between the Sudan and the other countries of Central Africa. The Forestry and Veterinary services took in hand the conservation and the improvement both numerically and in quality of two of the country's most valuable assets, her trees and her cattle. Yet the Sudan could not continue indefinitely to depend upon outside gifts and loans to finance her public services. Some way had to be found to provide a regular national income large enough to enable the country to pay her way, and since the Sudan is essentially an agricultural and pastoral country it was on these lines that the problem had to be solved. The

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648 solution was mainly found in the large-scale production of cotton.

Since the rainfall in the north is meagre and unpredictable, it was obvious that any large agricultural scheme would have to depend on irrigation, and the most suitable site for this was found to be the Gezira area, the delta formed south of the junction of the Blue and White Niles. The Gezira Irrigation Scheme was initially made possible by the generosity of the British Government which advanced loans amounting to nearly £12,000,000 to cover the cost of the great dam built at Sennar on the Blue Nile, and of the canalization system whereby the cotton and subsidiary crops are irrigated. The Scheme was launched on a large scale with the completion of the Sennar Dam in 1925. Originally the irrigable area was roughly 300,000 acres but has been extended during the years, so that now nearly 1,000,000 acres of land can be brought under cultivation. At its inception the scheme was run on a partnership basis between the Government, the peasant cultivator and a syndicate of experts. The Government supplied the canalization and the water, the cultivator raised the crops and the syndicate provided expert supervision and marketed the cotton. The three partners shared the profits in the proportion of 40% each to the Government and the cultivator and 20% to the syndicate. In 1950 the syndicate's concessions were terminated and its place was taken by a Government sponsored body, the Sudan Gezira Board.

During the years since the end of the war, the Sudan in company with the rest of the world has been going through a period of industrial and political unrest. The former to some extent has been settled by wage increases and improved working and living conditions, the latter is still in the process of working itself out. Once the country had been settled, efficiently policed, effectively administered and set on the road to literacy, the Sudan Government, in pursuance of its policy of eventually handing the land over to self-government, relaxed wherever possible its system of direct administration and called on the local sheikhs and chieftains to

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assist the District Commissioners in the administration of justice and tribal policy among their own people. This system of indirect rule commenced after the First World War among the nomadic tribes where the sheikh still had the status of patriarch and father of his people, was extended in time to the more permanently settled rural areas and eventually to the townships and municipalities. The late 1930's saw the beginnings of the Sudanization of the Central Government. Educated Sudanese found places in Provincial Councils, and in 1944 on the newly formed Northern Sudan Advisory Council. In 1948 a partly elected, partly nominated Legislative Assembly was set up and January 1954 saw the opening of the first elected Sudanese Parliament, consisting of a Senate and a House of Representatives. This essay in self-government under international supervision is to last three years at the end of which period the Sudanese will decide for themselves the future of their country; whether they feel secure and strong enough to face the future completely independent, or whether their interests and security would be better safeguarded by union with Egypt.

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643 handing the cares of office to a younger man whilst he spends his declining years in peaceful and happy retirement. He must rule till his death, and if through physical or mental debility he should show signs of allowing the reins of government to slip from his grasp, since nothing but death can divorce him from his office, then he must die. And his loyal subjects will take steps to see that he does die; his women will briskly smother him as he sleeps and so clear the way for the election of his successor. This, then, is the Shilluk idea and tradition of government. Nyikang still rules his people by his immanence in the person of the reigning king, and while all is well with the king, all will be well with the people. It is difficult to understand the dogged persistence of that belief in view of the chronic poverty of the Shilluk, the almost annual failure of their crops, the frequent visitations of pestilence which carry off large numbers of people and cattle, the terror and havoc which was spread throughout the country during the régime of the Mahdists when the tribe was decimated by slaughter and slavery, and all this be the king never so robust in mind and body.

643 During the past seventy years the absolute power of the
648 king has been severely shaken, at least in temporal affairs. When the Mahdists stalked the land, the kings were generally in hiding. Two were slain in battle, and one, falling into the hands of his enemies, was hanged and his head ignominiously displayed in Kodok, the headquarters of the Mahdist governor, but a few miles from the royal village of Fashoda.

After the defeat of the Kalifa at Omdurman, Kitchener commenced the formidable task of establishing law and order throughout the whole country. Fashoda, a collection of squalid mud huts on the Nile, blazed momentarily in the international headlines and then sank once more into its former obscurity. It might be mentioned here that the term '"Fashoda" Incident' is something of a misnomer. The historic meeting between Kitchener and Marchand took place, not at Fashoda, but at Kodok, some eight miles north [103] of the Shilluk capital. The name was transferred to Kodok

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by the Egyptian rulers of the country during the nineteenth century, but it was never accepted by the Shilluk.

One of the first steps taken by the new government towards the settlement of the Shilluk was the deposing and exiling of the king, Kur, whose conception of the royal duties and prerogatives boded ill for the health and well-being of such of his subjects as chanced to cross him in his wrath or thwart him in his desires. Hitherto many a Shilluk Urias or Naboth whose comely wife or humble possessions had aroused envy in the royal breast, had paid for it with his life. The tribal history even recounts that one king killed his wife because she could spit further than he could! With the removal of Kur, however, there went too the King's arbitrary power of life and death over his subjects, and although the government of the country and the administration of justice was still largely left in the hands of the king and his chiefs, it was henceforward to be administered under the eye of the local British officials.

The powerful position and the respect which a Shilluk king enjoys are not, however, without their price. The saying that 'Uneasy lies the head that wears the crown' may be trite, but it is true; with the pomp and circumstance of the royal state go the cares and worries of government which have undoubtedly caused monarchs many a sleepless night. But although the burden of their office may have been accepted as the price to be paid for its power and glory, and although too there are numerous instances in history of the wearer of the royal diadem dying at the hands of the assassin or the public executioner, still it is not the generally accepted thing that he must thus inevitably perish, and that to assume the purple is in effect to sign his own death warrant. Yet that is the way with the king of the Shilluk. As I said above, upon the physical and mental fitness of the king is deemed to depend the well-being of the whole people, and any weakening of his bodily powers or impairing of his mental faculties means that he must be put out of the way, so that the country may flourish under a more lusty and vigorous ruler. Moreover, it is the recognized right of any potential

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Chapter VII

JUSTICE

692 648 643 681 A great part of the work of the king and his chiefs is the administration of justice. This is done under the supervision of the local British officials, and, of course, has been restricted in some ways. The former ruthless butchery and mutilation for petty offences is no longer tolerated, nor is the sentence of death and the execution of such a sentence permitted to them. Apart from this, however, it is the policy of the Sudan Government to encourage the various native peoples of the country to administer their own territory according to their age-long traditions and usages. And indeed, a harassed District or Assistant District Commissioner with only a handful of police to help him in administering an enormous area, being neither argus-eyed nor possessed of the power of being in several places at once, can attend personally only to a fraction of the cases that continually come up for attention. He will deal with the more serious criminal offences, but the majority of disputes and petty crimes among the Shilluk are heard and decided by the king and the district chiefs. 643 634 577

Whether justice as we understand it, the meting out to an individual exactly what is his due, is always done in these cases is another matter. To say, as is often said, that the African has a strong sense of justice and resents being treated unjustly, is not strictly true. He certainly resents being treated unjustly, but often he equally resents being treated justly when the judgment given is detrimental to himself. Hence, in a criminal case in which he is the accused, or in litigation with his neighbour, he will cheerfully swear to tell 'the truth, the whole truth,' meaning all the time 'and nothing like the truth.' Then he spins a most convincing tale which none of the listeners believes but cannot fail to 695 577

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occasional outbreaks of fighting. An incident which might have had serious consequences occurred in 1940, shortly after I had arrived at Detwok. The young bloods of Detwok, after a merry evening of drinking and dancing, thought to round off a perfect day with a raid on the ladies of Pabiu. All good fun and high spirits, but the men of Pabiu, not unnaturally, objected to their daughters and sisters being taken for a midnight stroll, and the father of one girl stabbed her aggressor in the throat. The attackers, suddenly sobered by this serious end to their pranks, retreated to their own village, carrying their wounded companion. The drum was sounded, the village roused and the men armed themselves for the raid that Pabiu might make on them for the insult offered to its womenfolk, or for the attack that they would most surely launch on Pabiu should the wounded man die. Fortunately tragedy was averted by the good sense of the chief of Detwok. Knowing that he would be unable to restrain his angry subordinates if the man did die, he sent a runner to the mission for medical assistance and another to Kodok for the police. Mother R. immediately went to Detwok and by prompt first aid saved the wounded warrior's life and the two villages a great amount of extra trouble and grief. The arrival of the police in the morning and the removal of the originators of the mischief restored peace, at least temporarily, to the neighbourhood.

Later the same year, the Assistant District Commissioner chanced to drop in at Detwok. His visit was most unfortunate from the village's point of view, for he found a couple of Sudanese witch doctors plying a brisk trade with, not merely the connivance, but the positive approval of the chief. He and the medicine men were promptly arrested and he was deposed from his chieftainship. He had been not merely chief of Detwok but the District chief, and now, to the chagrin of all true Detwokians, that coveted honour was transferred to Pabiu.

The year 1943 gave Detwok fresh cause for resentment and a fresh longing for revenge over their hated rivals. The rains had failed and the mid-year food shortage was even

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more severe than usual. The government set up a grain distribution centre at Pabiu, since it was the chief village of the district. Pabiu waxed fat and rejoiced; Detwok snarled in anger and groaned with hunger and metaphorically tightened its belt and longed for the day when it would triumph over its arrogant rival.

Two years later, in September 1945, things boiled up again, and I thought that bloodshed on a large scale was unavoidable. A dance was being held at Pabiu and, since for a long time peace had reigned between the two villages, the people from Detwok attended. I usually permitted the schoolboys to go to these harmless afternoon dances, and was horrified when they came streaming back an hour before the usual time, crying that fighting had broken out and that men had been killed. There were boys from both Detwok and Pabiu attending the school and these, fearing that the mission would be raided during the night by one side or the other, refused to stay there and fled to the sanctuary of their homes and the protection of the spears of their fathers and brothers. Fortunately, things were not as bad as they appeared at first. People from all the surrounding villages attend these frequent dances, and among those enjoying themselves on this happy afternoon were the people from Alel, a large village three miles south of Detwok. During the dance a man from Detwok came face to face with one from Alel who, it seemed, had in company with his friends waylaid the Detwokian some time previously and beaten him up. Excited by the dancing, the Detwok warrior, suddenly confronted by his enemy, could not restrain himself. His spear flashed and the other man fell wounded. Immediately there was uproar. Alel was by way of being allied to Pabiu, and the two villages promptly joined forces against Detwok. A scrimmage ensued during which blows were struck and a few spear wounds were inflicted, but only one man—from Detwok—was seriously wounded. In the face of superior numbers Detwok had to withdraw, followed by the taunts of the victors, but swearing revenge. Two days of tension followed during which the Sisters were kept busy

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he had better restrain his young men before something happened that they would all be sorry for. He said that he could not prevent them from going to a dance, that they did not intend to molest anybody, but that they had a right to defend themselves if anyone attacked them. For an hour I argued, pleaded, cajoled and threatened, but without success. Then to my relief the chief proposed a solution that might satisfy everybody. He could not prevent his underlings from going to the dance, he said, but if there was no dance there would be no point in going. Could I stop Alel from holding the dance? I agreed to try and was about to depart when a messenger arrived from Alel to say that the dance was off. It appeared that my runner to Kodok had called at Alel on his way and had told the villagers where he was going and why. They, prudently wishing not to become involved in the Detwok-Pabiu dispute more deeply than they were already, called the affair off. The day was saved and we all breathed freely once more.

For the past several years there has been no incident of note between the two villages, but one never knows when an act of 'justice' or 'injustice' on one side or the other will cause a new flare up.

Poor Detwok! Poor Pabiu! Poor old Shilluk. He only wants to be left alone to mete out his own type of 'justice', as his forefathers did before the interfering foreigners came into his country. But he knows that should he raise his stick to bring it down with a satisfying thud on his enemy's head or plunge his spear into his body, a wrathful District Commissioner will swoop down on him and, figuratively speaking, will take him by the shoulders and shake him until his teeth rattle.

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* 797 [643] them as to how they were to treat his friends, as he called the missionaries. Conditions improved after this, and also by the arrival in June of three Sisters of Verona, with Mother Guiseppa Scandola as Superior, to assist in the mission work. When Mother Guiseppa received orders to start for Lul, one of the Sisters in Assuan told her that she envied her good fortune in going to work in the mission. 'Do not worry,' she replied, 'in four months you will come to take my place.' Soon after her arrival in Lul, Father Beduschi became very ill and was at death's door, but Mother Guiseppa, who was herself ill at the time, sent him this message: 'Have no fear, Father; you will not die, you have hard work to do for the Shilluk. I am old and useless; I shall die in your stead.' Two days later, Father Beduschi, completely recovered, gave the last Sacraments to the Sister, and she died on September 1st. Her successor as Superior was the very Sister to whom she had made the prophecy in Assuan. She was a woman remarkable for her devotion and holiness. In this same year, too, the British Government deposed the king, Kur, whose successor, Fadiet, was much more friendly to the mission.

[643] [648]

From this time onwards the number of Christians began to grow, and the mud hut which had served as a church was [346] replaced by a larger brick building in 1911. The priest who was Superior of Lul at that time was Father Banholzer, who was noted for his extensive knowledge of the Shilluk language and tribal customs and the untiring zeal with which he worked among the native people, so that many Shilluk remember him still as the 'Great Father'. One day in 1914 he shot a hippopotamus and was out in the sun for several hours dividing the meat, as a result of which he had an attack of sunstroke. He went to Kodok to be treated by the doctor, but died there in the arms of a native, and the first intimation of his death which his fellow priests at Lul received was the arrival of his body carried by natives in a boat.

[114] A successor of Father Banholzer was Father Kohnen, who wrote a Shilluk grammar and translated the New Testament and a Bible History into that language.

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this particular place at this particular time, and his worth, not as a teacher, or an eloquent preacher, or a clever theologian, or even as a zealous missionary whose ardour is being continually damped by the lack of response to his best efforts, but simply as a man in whom God has vested great powers in order that He may use him as the instrument for the salvation of some obscure native dying in a dismal hut in a small unknown village on the bank of the Nile.

Sickness and death do not study the convenience of the missionary either as to time or place, so he must be prepared to go at any time to any place that it is humanly possible to reach, whatever be the risk or inconvenience to himself; and although not usually fraught with peril, sick calls do have the habit of coming in at the most awkward times and from the most inaccessible of places. It may happen that the priest is alone in the mission and is perhaps in the middle of morning school when the summons comes from a village maybe ten or fifteen miles away. A catechist has come across a man, baptized many years ago in Detwok, but long since drifted from the district, who is sick and dying in a remote village on the other side of Kodok, and now sends in a messenger to inform the priest. Or, as often happens, the mission hears of it only because the pagan relatives of the dying man have sent in, not to summon assistance, but merely to beg a cloth to use as a shroud for his burial. Whatever way the news has come in, the priest acts promptly; he hurriedly hands over his class to the Sister next door, or gives it sufficient work to keep it busy—if not happy—for the remainder of the morning. From the house he picks up his sick-call case, hurries to the chapel for the Blessed Sacrament and, if the state of the roads permits, is away on his bicycle in a matter of minutes. If the rains are on and cycling is impossible, he changes his shoes and stockings for a pair of rubber pumps and sets out across the fields and through the swamps in the general direction of the main road and Kodok.

He arrives at that important administrative and commercial centre (the Assistant District Commissioner's residence and office, a prison, a dispensary and half a dozen Arab-

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* 797 shops) in about an hour if he is on his bicycle, but if he is [632] on foot he will be two-and-a-half to three hours on the road. [648] He looks around for the catechist and eventually finds him on the outside of the prison fence, chatting through the wire to some of his friends on the other side who have had the misfortune to be found out. The catechist jumps up when he sees the priest approaching and hurries to meet him and assure him that the man is still alive and very anxious to see him. He tells him that the village is but a short distance away (actually it turns out to be the best part of four miles through the forest behind Kodok), and proceeds to conduct him thither through a labyrinth of paths and tracks.

Eventually they arrive at the village, a huddle of half-a-dozen miserable huts, and cross to the one where the sick man is lying. Several mangy pi-dogs drowsing in the sun rouse up at the entrance of the stranger and make their usual attack. The priest crawls through the narrow entrance [342] into the hut and coming from dazzling sunlight into semi-darkness, for there are no windows in the hut and the grass mat that was removed from the door to give him entrance has been replaced, it takes him some time to accustom himself to his surroundings. He tells someone squatting near the entrance to remove the mat from the door, since besides the lack of light there is also a decided lack of air, and the temperature, high enough outside, is well nigh unbearable inside. Furthermore there is a haze of smoke from a long [276] Shilluk pipe which is being handed round the visitors to the [515] sick bed, and an unbelievable stench arising from foul tobacco, decaying fish and unwashed, oiled and ash-smeared Shilluk bodies.

The first thing the priest does is to clear the place of its occupants—including the fish. He is relieved to find that the young woman suckling a baby is not the sick man's wife; indeed he has not got a wife, so that is one complication the less, anyway. Then, soaked with perspiration and blinded by the drops that run down into his eyes, he turns to the 763 motionless bundle of rags lying on a skin on the floor. The * 797 man is conscious and evidently glad that the priest has come.

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Hasn't he been working for the past four months or so planting and weeding and reaping? Hasn't he got enough food now, that eked out with a little not too strenuous fishing will last him for six months or so, that is, if he can get his kids into the school again, and thus be relieved of the necessity of feeding them? And that reminds him, he must get that eldest son of his out of the school. The crop is gathered in now, so the goats can be let out to graze and the lad can mind them; it is time that he did something useful after the nice long holiday he has had up at the foreigner's place during the rains. Now it is his turn to have a holiday, and, by Nyikang, he's going to have one too; he's going to sit around and do nothing but drink beer until the rains come round again. Of course, there is that little matter of his tax that the other unpleasant foreigner from Kodok will be demanding soon. Of the two, he prefers the fellow at the mission; he sometimes gives him tobacco, but the only thing the one in Kodok has ever given him is three months in prison. Well, the tax is easily disposed of. His wife can sell some of the grain, or go out into the forest and collect enough firewood to sell to the Sisters in order to pay the tax. Thus pleasantly musing, he roars to a boy to fetch him his pipe, and to his wife to bring some more beer, and he sinks back against the fence of his house and relaxes gratefully in the warm sunshine.

If such is the general attitude of the Shilluk in the district, the would-be brickmaker and builder finds that his ambitious schemes have to be drastically modified. It is little use his going out, like the king's servants in the parable, into the highways and the byways to compel them to come in. Experience has taught him that if the Shilluk don't want to work they won't, and no amount of persuading will make them. He manages to raise a couple of teams of brickmakers, a moulder and two labourers to each team, and a few thriftless youths who have no money to pay their tax or other means of raising it drift in and are set to work to supply the brickmakers with sand and water. But he is in a sorry plight; he won't get anything like the number of